

Maclean's

Why Is This Woman Smiling?

KURT AND
ELVIS: ON TOP
OF THE WORLD



EXCLUSIVE:
A POLL OF
CONSERVATIVES

Tory Front-Runner
Kim Campbell



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GREECE
Chosen by the Gods



GRECE

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 22 1992 VOL 104 NO. 12

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COVER

WHY IS THIS WOMAN SMILING?

An exclusive Maclean's camera gall of Conservative party members shows that Defence Minister Rita Campbell is the runaway favorite for the Tory leadership. According to the survey, 38 percent of the respondents favor Campbell, with Finance Minister Donald Macdonald the second choice at eight per cent. Macdonald said that he is reviewing his decision not to enter the race. — 13

BUSINESS

THE KING OF CABLE

Terrence Hogan, who has built a \$3-billion communications empire, is at the centre of a campaign by Canadian cable companies to provide viewers with 300 channels and the latest technology. But the proposal will also increase cable rates dramatically—even for those who do not use the enhanced services. — 31



SPORTS

KURT AND ELVIS: ON TOP OF THE WORLD

Canadian skaters put a disastrous 1992 Olympic season behind them with a series of outstanding performances at last week's 1993 World Championships in Prague. Gold medallists Joannie Rochette, Lloyd Koenig (right) and Kurt Browning are the early favorites for the 1994 Winter Olympics. — 44





A TRIBUTE TO THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE HORSELESS CARRIAGE

A Chance For New Ideas

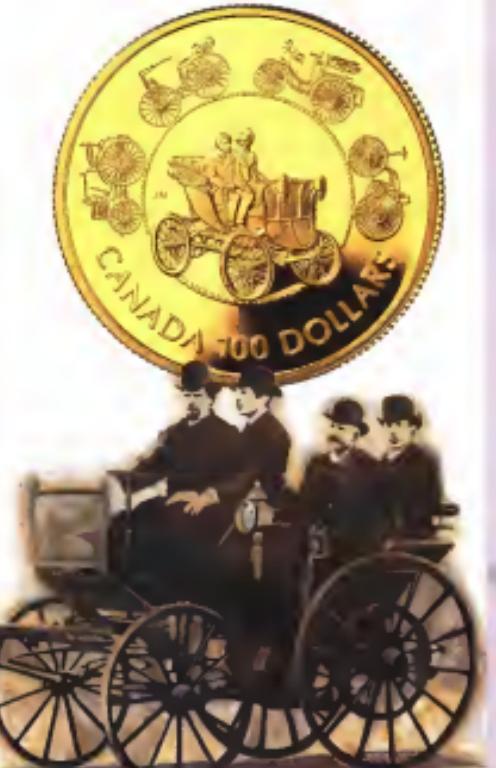
As this week's Marlon's JUMPS poll shows, Defence Minister Kim Campbell would overwhelmingly win the Tory leadership contest if it had been held between March 1 and 4, when the questions were asked. But the convention to decide who will succeed Brian Mulroney as party leader and Prime Minister is not until mid-June, and three months in politics is an eternity. In fairness, neither Campbell nor any other Tory had formally entered the race when the poll of party members was taken. Indeed, International Trade Minister Michael Wilson took himself out of consideration as a candidate after the polling was complete. But Campbell, Environment Minister Jean Chrétien, Communications Minister Perrin Beatty and External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall are likely to announce in the near future. And Patrick Boyce, an energetic, intelligent Toronto MP, has already entered the race.

As the world's cover package points out, Campbell is smart, thoughtful and a political veteran. But it is a sad commentary on the political system that most potential candidates are staying away from the race because they are not certain that she can be beaten. There is no better forum than a leadership contest for politicians who share a broadly similar philosophy to lay out their usually differing styles and their different approaches to governing. It is a chance for honest debate, that, while political by definition, plays out on a higher level than arguments among leaders of fundamentally different beliefs. But there is a real danger that Canadians will be deprived of the opportunity to hear a real debate if most potential candidates decide that winning the race is the only inhibitory factor to a campaign — and that entering the market for new ideas, just for its own sake, counts for nothing.

Karen Dwyer

Chair writer Anthony Wilson-Smith: there is no better forum for debate than a (un)friendly comment

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From the earliest motorcars to today's high-performance models, automobiles have always generated a lot of interest and enthusiasm. Did you know that the earliest electric cars were built in Canada? The first electric automobile in Canada, a Fetherstonhaugh, was produced in 1886?

However the golden era of the horse-drawn carriage, the Royal Canadian Mint decided to introduce its new 1993 \$100 Gold Coin, featuring five milestones from the 19th century which had an impact on the development of the automobile throughout the world. Detailed from left to right on this 14 karat gold coin are the French Peugeot-Lavalette Demi-Vison, American Buggy, the German Benz Patent Motor Car, the Standard Steam Carriage and in the center, the first Canadian Patent for a motor vehicle. The coin has a brilliant uncirculated finish and is surrounded by a decorative border of 100 maple leafs.

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OPENING NOTES

Border troubles, Ben and the world, and *Falling Down* tops the box office

Stop, Bambi, stop

LAWRENCE (Bambi) Bensiek is finally free, but the energetic Milwaukee police officer has yet to throw off all of her legal shackles. Bensiek was released from a Wisconsin prison in December after serving 10 years for the 1981 murder of her then-husband's ex-wife. Now, Allstate Communications Corp., in association with NBC, is filming a four-hour miniseries based on Bensiek's autobiography, *Woman on Trial*, and starring Tatiana O'Neill in the lead role. The producers had planned to bring the 34-year-old ex-convert to Toronto as an consultant. But because Bensiek is in the parole, U.S. authorities have barred her from leaving the country. Minnesota producer Ian McEneaney and then Bensiek still feels "a strong connection" to Canada. In 2000, the escaped U.S. prisoner fled to Thunder Bay. One eventual warning will suffice, though: her lawyer reportedly had to get entrapment money. Address: McEneaney. "She would really have to come back. And everyone working on the production is very keen to have her," insisted, said McEneaney. Bensiek plans to visit the



Bensiek (left), O'Neill barred

set in April after filming moves to Milwaukee, Wis., which will stand in for Thunder Bay. For the North Carolina-based film-makers, nothing could be easier.

Maclean's BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 The Client, Graham
- 2 Griffin & Sabine, Bennett (2)
- 3 The Informant of Shannons, Brooks (2)
- 4 The English Patient, Undata (2)
- 5 Sehkin's Notebook, Sehkin (3)
- 6 Green Grass, Running Water, kept
- 7 Dolores Claiborne, King (3)
- 8 Empire of the Sun, Eggers
- 9 Degree of Guilt, Pinter (3)
- 10 Freud, Webster (2)

1 / Previous issue
Compiled by Bruce Rothman

NONFICTION

- 1 Systems of Survival, Jenkins (2)
- 2 Women Who Run With the Wolves, Klim (4)
- 3 Shifting Gears, Beck (2)
- 4 Healing and the Mind, Meier (2)
- 5 Preparing for the Twenty-First Century, Kennedy (2)
- 6 Crosscountry, Blythe (2)
- 7 The Last Castle, Johnson (2)
- 8 Movita Sherkis, Jones (2)
- 9 The Wives of Henry VIII, Power (2)
- 10 Towers of Debt, Peter

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WORD FOR WORD

The Johnson affair

Confessions that Ben Johnson tested positive for high levels of testosterone—and his subsequent lifetime ban from competition—echoed around the world. Excerpts from foreign newspaper stories about the Canadian sprinter

LONDON'S DART MAIL
For all due diligence in tracking down the most conspicuous offender's affliction, sorry list of drug abusers, all that the authorities have proved to another genetic test of innocence in precisely what Johnson's meanwhile drug-pusher, Charlie Francis, used to whisper repeatedly in his ear: "If you plan to take it, you won't make it."

DUBLIN'S THE IRISH TIMES

A doctor can't sit it down? A villain or the awaiting tool of an interruption, unpredictable people with an eye on the sport's burgeoning financial rewards? The 38-year-old national and Canadian has taken on himself a special place in the history of the limit of the major sporting disciplines.

INDIA'S GAZETTE DU SPORT

Thugs of testosterone that high are absolutely not explained by natural law, said Prof. Antonio Pala-Monte, a member of the medical committee of the International Amateur Athletics Federation. "We found strenuous exercise in our situation is to a certain side, after taking a few certain times, known the car can much increase speed of 10 km an hour. Every day he discovers that the car can travel at 1,100 km an hour; he leaves something out of the ordinary."

PARIS'S LE FIGARO

Johnson has received unexpected support from the French Association of Sodiers... Olympique press director Jean-Jacques Kapp maintains that Johnson's high level of testosterone could be explained by the fact that he is a transvestite. Referring to studies conducted in the United States, he recommends castrating the athlete by conducting testosterone tests on a group of transvestites.

Tying art with business



For most artists, cultivating a rebellious image is part of the job—but they also like to sell their work. Toronto painter Gary Silverberg has succeeded in doing both. Late last November, 21, opened an exhibit of 20 paintings in a downtown Toronto office building. His apparently mundane subject matter, according to the artist, offers a way for "businessmen to express their disguised sexual feelings." His paintings, he claims, partake of the "art of seduction" that brought into the American dream in the 1980s. His most controversial, including several in the shape of testicles that represent failed business ventures—*including Country Wear* and *Reddy Gourami*—1989. Silverberg, a commercial art studio teacher by day, painted eight right dressers in a blue suit and a striped, saucy red tie. "I chose a suit that appeals to a woman," he explained.

On that night, at least, he succeeded, selling 32 paintings for up to \$1,800 each. Said Paul Oberman, president of Epsilon Corp., a real estate development company and a sponsor of the exhibit: "Appeal who at still in business these days has to have a sense of humor."

Silverberg: "I want to belong."



POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days ending on March 11. (In brackets: number of screens in which showing.)

- 1 Falling Down (86/2) \$7,600
- 2 Goodwill Day (85/4) \$30,900
- 3 The Crying Game (85/10) \$48,200
- 4 Missionary Stand (85/1) \$41,700
- 5 Anna & Andre (72/0) \$40,700
- 6 Atlantic (94/19) \$36,100
- 7 Strong Man (84/7) \$32,400
- 8 Red Dog and Glory (85/2) \$30,000
- 9 Blue (74/1) \$29,600
- 10 Somersault (85/1) \$28,000

Courtesy: Entertainment Weekly

PASSAGES

Near the Arava, in a Hawila hospital, Israeli-born Gifford flew 40 bombing runs over Europe during the Second World War. From 1958 to 1962, Gifford was active in a movement to have his British training and his son (now deceased) for the New Democratic Party in four federal elections.



DR. SEHLINE Sehlin and his son, C. Northeast Parkinse, 83, in a dental gear box home in Caversham, England. The author of about 60 books, Sehlin, 86, was a member of the 1958 British bombing team. He has 1958 bombing, "Fascism's Last Gas," to his credit. His theory that "work expands to fill the time available for its completion" was vindicated by the fact that Britain's Colonial Office had continued to expand while the British empire was shrinking. Among his other studies: "Expenditure on sex and money," "Delay is the deadliest form of denial" and "Action expands to fill the void created by human failure."

—C.B.

DR. BRIAN CRADY 72, of cancer, in a hospital near San Diego, Calif. The youngest of seven children, including legendary singer Bing Crosby, Crosby attained fame in the 1930s and 1940s with a big band called the Bing Boys.

—C.B.

DR. BRIAN STANS, 25, of Montreal, the six-time star of the World Indoor Track and Field Championships, in Tucson.

—C.B.

DR. KATE PAICE, of North Bay, Ont., the first World Cup downhill victory of her career, at Lillehammer, Norway.

—C.B.

Qualified medical in last week's *Forbes* is extremely pleased about that should have appeared. For the record, the most noteworthy

DR. ALBERT SEHLINE research scientist Dr. Albert Sehlin, 86, developer of the oral polio vaccine, at Congregational Health, in a Washington hospital. Polio victims, who known as infantile paralysis, crippled and killed tens of thousands of people, mainly young children, around the world each year until mass vaccination in a massive campaign by the World Health Organization began in 1952. It requires three injections over an eight-month period. The "Salk vaccine," introduced in 1955, is similar to Sehlin's—in fact or in a major case.

DR. MARY STAN LILLIAN GLASS, 99, of heart failure, in her New York City apartment. Glass appeared on more than 100 movies, including the D. W. Griffith classic *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916). Unlike most of her Hollywood contemporaries, she successfully made the transition to the sound era in the 1930s, and continued to appear on stage, screen and television for another 60 decades.

DR. CAROL DIPLOMATIC AND CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE Claude Charron, 56, of cancer, at his official residence in Paris. After serving as Canada's ambassador to Mexico and Italy, he took up the Paris posting in 1988 and was influential in easing previously turbulent relations among the governments of Canada, Quebec and France.

Why Is This Woman Smiling?

AN EXCLUSIVE POLL GIVES KIM CAMPBELL A HUGE LEAD

From his home in the sparsely populated Northern Ontario township of Ignace, Nelson Taddeo has to travel 286 km east to catch what he refers to as the nearest "big city"—Thunder Bay, with a population of 130,000. But Taddeo, a 38-year-old entrepreneur who operates a family business servicing automobiles and appliances, is largely interested in life beyond his isolated region. He says that he follows national and international events closely and that he likes to debate such topics as the arms of free trade and the effect of the Goods and Services Tax on small businesses. A committed member of the federal Progressive Conservative party, Taddeo hopes to be a delegate at Jean's leadership convention in Ottawa. In the meantime, he says that he is taking "a very close look" at each of the declared and potential candidates before deciding where to throw his support. Even at this early stage, he says, he has a fairly favourable impression of Defence Minister Kim Campbell. Said Taddeo: "I look at Kim Campbell. I think she's got a good fresh approach, national appeal and a most interesting profile." As the findings of a Maclean's poll conducted by Ottawa-based COM-TEL indicate, that high opinion of Campbell appears to be the overwhelming view of the majority of active Tories.

In fact, party members of both sexes and language groups say that they will support Campbell strongly, overall, which is partly owing to the public relations firm Bausum-Marsden, specialists in conducting surveys of specific target groups, including business executives and professionals (page 140). The poll, conducted by telephone with a representative sample of 400 Tories who attended the party's 1991 annual policy convention, indicates that Campbell's support is now so strong among party activists that if a leadership poll had been held at the time of polling, the world likely was ready—with her first ballot support almost equaling the overall support of all other potential candidates.

And, in the event of a second ballot pitting Campbell against three of her most likely challengers—former Minister Donald Muzzakowski, Environment Minister Jean Charest and Communications Minister Perrin Beatty—the poll indicates that Campbell would easily outpoll her opponents, winning 88 per cent of the votes.

If Muzzakowski stayed out of the race and External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall stepped in, Campbell's share would rise even higher—at 95 per cent, with Charest at nine per

cent, Beatty at eight per cent and McDougall at three per cent. But perhaps the most significant finding, according to the president of COM-TEL, Conrad Wine, is that "there seems to be virtually no potential for Tories to jump up in an anybody-but-Campbell movement." The reason at this stage of the race, at least, seems not widely identified with any strong negative factors. Said Wine: "She is perceived well by most Tories—even those who may not initially support her."

These results appear to confirm the optimism of many Tory organizers—and the fears of some of them—the weeks following Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Feb. 24 announcement of his phased resignation. The 60-year-old Campbell's still-unheralded candidacy has already attracted so much high-level support that it has driven some potential candidates such as International Trade Minister Michael Wilson out of the race and made others wary of entering the contest. It has also led some Tories to worry openly that Canadians may lose interest in the contest.

Some party members and activists fears that Campbell's lack of profile reflected traditional conservative values. Partly to recruit a group of supporters, Tory MPs, led by Alberta backbencher Alain Coquer, has begun pressuring Muzzakowski to reverse his earlier announcement that he will not run. Although Muzzakowski does not speak French, he is viewed as the one leadership candidate who could be significant support against Campbell outside of Quebec. Mulroney himself, apparently trying to draw up more enthusiasm for the race, and last week that no party member "should be swayed of the possibility of running because of the absence of speaking bilingual."

Even among undecided Tories, there is concern that Campbell's large early support will lead to overexposure and more adverse scrutiny and criticism from the media. Respondent Miss Bellem, 35, of St. John's, Nfld., said that she is still undecided. She acknowledged that she might vote for Campbell, but she added: "I would be very afraid the media would label her as pre-preg or pre-flop. It might happen that the media begin to present her that way, and that would be a pity."

At the same time, Campbell and other candidates face the delicate challenge of presenting themselves as agents of political change—while still upholding the close scrutiny of Mulroney, who will tolerate little criticism of his government's record. At a recent meeting last week, a stern Prime Minister named potential candidates that if they publicly criticize his policies they "can

Q: Who should succeed Mulroney?

FIRST CHOICE

Kim Campbell	38%
Donald Muzzakowski	8
Michael Wilson*	7
Jean Charest	5
Perrin Beatty	4
Peter Lougheed*	3
René Beaudoin*	2
Barbara McDougall	1
Bernard Valcourt	1
Garth Turner	1
James Edwards	1
Other	6
Don't know	18



(Have said that they will not run)

THE TOP FOUR

In addition to their preferred choice (left), respondents to the Maclean's/COMPAS poll were asked to name their second choice for party leader. Using that information, COMPAS president Conrad Wine calculated the results of a second ballot if the leadership contest narrowed to a race among Campbell, Muzzakowski, Charest and Beatty:



take it for granted that I will not be happy—and that they will have to deal with me."

Fortunately for leadership hopefuls, the Maclean's/COMPAS poll indicates that most Tories take great pride in several of the government's most significant—and controversial—achievements (page 13). There is strong support for the Free Trade Agreement with the United States and the cuts—but less enthusiasm for the government's policy toward aborigines, gay men and women, the challenge to deficit reduction, gay men and women, the challenge to the weak leader is that "Tories are proud and satisfied with the Mulroney government, but do not necessarily want him to continue to be obviously linked to his legacy" (page 16).

That, my dear Tories, is a key reason why

National Notes

NEW AIDS FUNDING

Health Minister Bengt Boosch announced that the federal government will lead a spending of \$100 million on AIDS education and research by 1993. In just over two years Boosch and the government will have spent \$45 million annually on the program, compared with the current level of \$37 million a year. The grants encompassing AIDS victims and the government should spend at least \$55 million annually as proposed by a Commons committee.

DISPLACED CHILDREN

Orphaned children in Quebec, many declared mentally incompetent, filed a \$1.5-billion class-action suit against the province and seven religious orders in Quebec Superior Court. Beginning in 1963 and throughout the 35-year administration of Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis, thousands of such children were confined in asylums and mental institutions. The suit involves 4,000 people who also claim that they were sexually and physically abused while incarcerated.

SEX CRIME LAWS

Proposals for tough new federal legislation that could keep repeat sex offenders in prison indefinitely could be ready in three weeks, according to Solicitor General Doug Lewin.

TWO MINISTERS HARMED

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed Combie's ambassador to Portugal, René Audiachak, 46, and Jean-Claude Rossignol, 50, a Quebec Liberal, who served as a commissioned officer in Quebec Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa, to the Senate. They will sit as Conservatives, bringing the total to 49 Tories, 61 Liberals and 13 independents. New seats remain vacant.

CROSSBOW VICTIM

An Ontario Court judge found Colin McGregor, 31, guilty of killing his estranged wife with a crossbow. Justice Louise Charbonneau sentenced him to life imprisonment—such as chance of parole for 25 years—for the Nov. 13, 1991, slaying in Ottawa. McGregor had pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity.

ELIJAH HARRIS'S DEMISE

Elijah Harper, the former Manitoba MLA who effectively killed the 1990 Meech Lake accord when he blocked the issue from being voted on in legislature, has died. Harper, 46, was a former Liberal Party member in the province and that Harper will likely mark the Liberal convention in the northern Manitoba riding of Churchill.

A WINNING FORMULA

THE TORIES WANT A DEBATER AND TV STAR

They're looking for someone who can lead, who will balance tradition with change and who—above all else—is capable of defeating the Liberals in a general election. As Progressive Conservatives prepare for their June convention, they are seeking a leader who not only can win the election but possibly lead the party into the next century. Most of the 454 Tories surveyed for the *Maclean's* Monitor poll are clearly proud of their back-to-back stagieres and legislative accomplishments during the past five years. But with Brian Mulroney's departure, voters are disenchanted with the Conservative agenda—fewer than one in three of those polled say that it is very important that the next leader remain loyal to Mulroney's agency. Best possible: *Conservative* (10%).

With 84 per cent of the respondents saying that they do not care if their next leader is a man or a woman, Liberalism is seen as the sign of the times: the vast majority of the most important traits between 45 and 55, and while relatively few of the potential delegates wanted the next leader to open the old wounds surrounding the constitutional issue of abortion or capital punishment, many did favour stricter control of

immigration and more support for so-called traditional family values. Said Peter Raudis, 35, a lawyer and accountant from Kitchener, Ont., who is a father of three: "I think the family is the basic building block of society. Anything that can strengthen that possesses every other policy that the government is going to be proposing."

The Conservatives' top priority, however, as a leader who performs well on television and who can defeat Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien in debates.

Edie Gall responded: Théodore Labrèche, 44, secretary-treasurer of Mulroney's now disbanded riding association in Beau-Censsau, Que. "The television debate is very important. Whether you like it or not, when people go to the polls to cast their votes, the image of the leader is very, very important. It's not just express and present themselves well."

But Labrèche said that she hoped that the party's best for the candidates in the next TV debate would transform the race into a beauty contest. "It doesn't matter if the person is fat or thin, or tall or short," she explained. "They must have presence and aplomb. It does not take a Venus to win."

The widespread concern for image perhaps can account for Defence Minister Kim Campbell's attractive, intelligent妻子 who appears poised and polished on television—is gaining so much support from the party grassroots. At 46, she falls within the most popular age bracket for a new leader—while Environment Minister Jean Charest at 38 would be viewed by many as too young. Billie Wine says that age is not the most important factor for leadership candidates. "For Chrétien in particular, it is a liability, but not an insurmountable one," he added. "People are always willing to make exceptions."

Campbell's suggestion is clear in other areas, too. Unlike Trade Minister Michael Wilson, who has already bowed out of the race, the Defence Minister is not closely identified in the minds of party members with the Goods and Services Tax and the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement—measures that remain unpopular with most voters. And Campbell's name came up repeatedly when potential delegates were asked to name a candidate who had good judgment, was committed to social programs, and could lead the Blue Collarites, the Reform party, the New Democrats, and the Liberals.

Although Campbell had yet to receive her constituency or national position, many of those polled said that they firmly believed that her future is bright. Said Edie Gall: "She is very bright, from what I understand, although I have not discussed with her policies on social issues. There seems to be a congruence between her policies and my maybe leading her."

At the same time, a majority of the respondents said that they were unconvinced about the regional origins of the new leader. Among those who did cast a preference, however, most wanted someone from outside Quebec:

Q: Should the next Conservative leader be a woman?

Yes No Don't know

Anglophones: 8% 4% 88%

Francophones: 27% 4% 69%



Ottawa winter
outing: traditional
family values

While Conservatives are focused on winning the next election, they also have some definite opinions on party policy. Most do not want the next leader to impose new laws as a woman's right to an abortion or to expand the debate about capital punishment. Some Tories said that discussing an abortion debate such as abortion is too risky because it could split the party when it should be united. Said Alan Tancsak, 38, treasurer of Alberta's Peace River riding association: "It is a major issue which would open up problems on every side." Added Wine, "They do not really want to touch hot topics like abortion or capital punishment."

The Conservatives who participated in the survey were divided as whether the new leader should present social programs. Eighty-four per cent, however, want the new government to slash federal spending, and 60 per cent say that it is important to reduce the deficit. And Labrèche added: "For Quebecers, an inter- and world-leading leader from English Canada." "Of course," she said, "or she would have to speak French well. And a French-speaking leader from non-English descent?" Those polled said Campbell had the best chance of beating both the Blue Collarites and the Reform party. But respondents seemed less concerned about these two parties than about the Liberals and New Democrats. Said Doug Little, 52, a riding association director in Newfoundland's Bonavista/Tremont/Capobianco: "Reform has already peaked and is on its way down." Added Labrèche, "I think the Blue's popularity will fade as we get closer to an election."

Q: Is it very important for the next leader of the Conservative party to...?

Percentage saying Yes



That was true even among francophones. Said Diane-Gagnon's Labrèche: "Since we have had a Quebecer leading the party for so long, I think we have to be realistic. People want to see an other type of leadership." And Labrèche added: "For Quebecers, an inter- and world-leading leader from English Canada." "Of course," she said, "or she would have to speak French well. And a French-speaking leader from non-English descent?" Those polled said Campbell had the best chance of beating both the Blue Collarites and the Reform party. But respondents seemed less concerned about these two parties than about the Liberals and New Democrats. Said Doug Little, 52, a riding association director in Newfoundland's Bonavista/Tremont/Capobianco: "Reform has already peaked and is on its way down." Added Labrèche, "I think the Blue's popularity will fade as we get closer to an election."



Q: Should the next Conservative leader come from Quebec?

Yes No Don't know

Anglophones: 2% 42% 56%

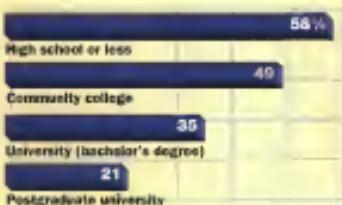
Francophones: 15% 25% 60%

That was true even among francophones. Said Diane-Gagnon's Labrèche: "Since we have had a Quebecer leading the party for so long, I think we have to be realistic. People want to see an other type of leadership." And Labrèche added: "For Quebecers, an inter- and world-leading leader from English Canada." "Of course," she said, "or she would have to speak French well. And a French-speaking leader from non-English descent?" Those polled said Campbell had the best chance of beating both the Blue Collarites and the Reform party. But respondents seemed less concerned about these two parties than about the Liberals and New Democrats. Said Doug Little, 52, a riding association director in Newfoundland's Bonavista/Tremont/Capobianco: "Reform has already peaked and is on its way down." Added Labrèche, "I think the Blue's popularity will fade as we get closer to an election."

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

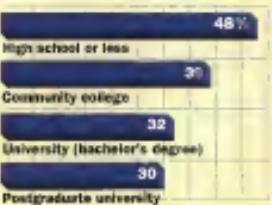
DEATH PENALTY SUPPORT

Percentage of Tory respondents who favour the new leader being "open to capital punishment"



ABORTION SUPPORT

Percentage of Tory respondents who favour a new abortion law



ARTICLES OF FAITH

ON FREE TRADE, TORIES HAVE NO QUALMS

To its enemies, the party's ties to the United States have been too cosy and its continental free trade ministries a disaster. But to Progressive Conservatives themselves, free trade and the links that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government has forged with the United States over the past eight and a half years are clearly matters of pride. Fully 41 per cent of the Tories who took part in the Maclean's/COMEX poll felt that the government's stewardship of Canada-U.S. relations was "about right." Self-confessed president Conrad Wiser, "It is the one way where the party gives the government a very good report card. This is unambiguous, clear, right between the eyes." One of the respondents later interviewed by Maclean's, a retired school principal Jata McCollum, 59, of Burlington, Ont., said that free trade with the United States was "necessary to long as we are the world community." Declared McCollum, "In this day and age we have to let go of our nationalism—or we could end up like Yugoslavia."

While some Conservative party members expressed varying degrees of concern about the Mulroney government's management of such issues as the Constitution, aboriginals, the military, human rights and family issues, those surveyed or consulted earlier this month generally agreed with its economic policy. Eleven per cent of those polled even called the unpopular Goods and Services Tax the "Conservative government's greatest accomplishment," although 28 per cent considered the tax to be either "poorly designed" or "poorly implemented." "Maybe we issued it, but it replaced something that was better and entrenched," said legal secretary Patricia Whitter of Cambridge, Ont., arguing that the GST was preferable to the previous manufacturers' sales tax. "It's right there in front of us—it's better!" However, many Tories, especially anglophones, said that the government fell short in an area of fiscal policy: deficit reduction. "Do they do it far enough," said 66-year-old Peter St. John, B.C., given former Part Leader Ed Broadbent's claim that the government had "done its best." However, many Tories, especially anglophones, said that the government fell short in an area of fiscal policy: deficit reduction. "Do they do it far enough," said 66-year-old Peter St. John, B.C., given former Part Leader Ed Broadbent's claim that the government had "done its best."

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Such quibbles, however, paled beside the per-

ceived success of the government's trade policy. Free trade, at 37 per cent, topped the list when delegates were asked to name the government's "greatest accomplishment." According to Darlene Witz, a 45-year-old Carpenter, B.C., town councillor who also operates a marine liner business, free trade cushioned Canada against the latest recession. "Elsewhere, we didn't work towards our economic goals, we would have been at very hard times during this recession," she said. And approval of trade policy was even higher among young Tories—those under 30—who made up nearly one quarter of the 450 delegates questioned.

Fully 41 per cent of youth respondents singled out the FTA as the

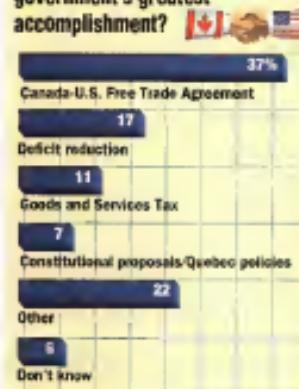
Mulroney government's major accomplishment. "I suppose, wholeheartedly, of the lines of free trade policy," said 25-year-old Michelle Piquette, a political science student at the University of Quebec in Montreal. According to Witz, young people's enthusiasm for free trade may lie in these widening horizons. Declared the pollster: "This is a generation

exposed to the idea

of global business."

But Tories of all ages, particularly anglophones, were more inclined to criticize the government's "greatest accomplishment," although 28 per cent consid-

Q: What has been the Mulroney government's greatest accomplishment?



Q: What should the Mulroney government have done differently?



* Includes complaints about the size of the tax, the range of items subject to GST and the timing and measure of its implementation.



RATING THE MULRONEY GOVERNMENT ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

	TOP 10%	MID 50%	TOP 10%
Improving Canada-U.S. relations	8%	64%	95%
Support for Arabs in the Arab-Israeli conflict	14	56	32
Helping the Third World	18	58	24
Protecting Canada's military strength	30	56	33

Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding and "don't know" responses.



RATING THE MULRONEY GOVERNMENT ON DOMESTIC ISSUES

	TOP 10%	MID 50%	TOP 10%
Support for native Canadians	25%	44%	33%
Commitment to deficit reduction	38	44	7
Concern for homosexual rights	12	44	35
Attention to Quebec issues	5	66	37
Help for the poor and unemployed	23	62	32
Support for the traditional family	34	62	5
Concern for moderate-income earners	29	62	8

Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding and "don't know" responses.

Percentage of Conservative respondents who said that . . .

	ANGLOPHONES	FRANCOPHONES
The Mulroney government showed too much concern for Quebec	44%	6%
The Mulroney government's commitment to natives was too strong	30	52
The government's military commitment was too weak	35	12
The party's next leader should be open to capital punishment	42	25

Respondents with degrees were also likely to want a new leader who is open to capital punishment, an abortion law and tighter immigration controls. Said Witz: "Delegates with greater education embrace the liberal position on these cultural and social issues."

Still, the Maclean's/COMEX poll shows a strong tilt of support for the fundamental building block of Tory policy—an economic platform. That support cuts across social and economic lines and bodies well for a government seeking support for trade expansion in Mexico and Latin America. "Of free trade," said Witz of the Tories, "they are loyal to the last drop of blood." And that, as well as on other Tory articles of faith, Canadians who support other parties remain unmoved and, in many cases, firmly opposed. But as they approach their party's June leadership convention, Conservatives—young and old, men and women, French and English-speaking—are clearly prepared to stay the course.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

BACKYARD CHALLENGES

CAMPBELL FACES A FIGHT AT HOME

With Stanley Park and English Bay as its borders, Vancouver Centre is one of the nation's most scenic federal ridings. In this year's federal election, it may also be one of the most politically exciting. The incumbent, Defence Minister Kim Campbell, the front-runner in the Conservative leadership race, is pitting off against her will be two other strong women candidates—former Olympic volleyballer Betty Roche, 48, for the Liberals; and Judy Fry, 50, a Toronto-born family practitioner for the Liberals. A fourth will be local physician Diana Ross, 40, for the Reform party. Campbell's hold on the riding has been tested in the 1988 election, she was beaten by 264 votes, out of 63,735 cast, over NDP challenger Alainne des Herives. But many Vancouver Centre residents say that if Campbell, who celebrated her 40th birthday last week, were the Tory leadership—and becomes the country's first woman prime minister—her chances for re-election would be greatly strengthened. "Of course people would vote for her if she becomes the Tory leader," says Doug Ellington, 28, manager of a local health-food store. "Her being prime minister couldn't do as big harm."

Still, Campbell will have fought her hands. Vancouver Centre is home to one of Canada's largest—and most high-profile—and anti-Semitic communities, whose leaders have vowed to unseat the defence minister. Gays and lesbians make up an estimated 20 per cent of the riding's 85,000 voters. Many of them complain that she let the community down by failing to recognize homophobia in proposed amendments to the Canadian Human Rights Act. "The gay issue is a big because of the nature of being gay," says the 16-year Roche, a lesbian activist. "The community had a concern about from the government. But there was little action on human rights issues for homosexuals when Campbell was justice minister." And Baxter, a consultant who offers homophobia training on such issues as labour relations and sexual harassment, claims that the gay community shares many concerns with other Vancouver Centre residents. "The gay community is not a single issue group," she adds. "Other issues include taxes, jobs, street safety and the country's growing lack of determining its own future due to free trade."

While some analysts say that Campbell may seek re-election in a safer, less volatile riding,

leadership in 1990 and is expected to play a key role in Campbell's leadership campaign, others feel that she has over-considered running, notwithstanding. "That never was an issue, never a possibility," says George, a Vancouver lawyer and son of veteran Tory insider Dalton George. "She loves that riding."

Campbell's ties to Vancouver Centre—she owns a house in the riding's Burnaby Slopes district—are strong. She has lived in the city since childhood, after moving there with her family from Port Alberni. A valedictorian at Vancouver's Prince of Wales Secondary School, she later earned a master's degree in political science from the University of British Columbia and a Canada Council doctoral fellowship to study Soviet government at the London School of Economics. She returned to teach political science at tac and graduated in law in 1983, three years after winning a seat on the Vancouver school board.

Campbell was still writing her law exams when she decided to run for the Soviets in Vancouver Centre in the 1985 provincial election.



The defence minister is the frontrunner: no problems returning to Parliament



The NDP's Roche: 'The gay issue is big because of the issue of betrayal'

ago. She last and then became a policy adviser to then-Premier William Bennett. When he stepped down in 1986, she launched an unsuccessful campaign for the party's leadership. She finished in 12th place, and the constituency probably helped her secure one of the 100 federal seats in the 1988 election. But two years later, she switched to the federal Tories. Twice-married, she is in now single and has no children of her own, although she remains close to her stepchildren.

Despite her status as the clear front-runner in the Tory race, some local residents are unmoved by the task of Campbellism. "I wouldn't vote for her," says Eric Daniels, 54, a writer who lives and works at the beach. "She probably helped her constituents, but the constituency probably helped her get elected." She has probably helped her party. That was apparent—she switched to the federal Tories twice—married, she is in now single and has no children of her own, although she remains close to her stepchildren.

A POLITICAL DOWNDRAFT

Starting with high-tech electronics, the CH-103 is a combat pilot's dream. Defence Minister Kim Campbell, however, Ottawa's purchase of 50 of the Israeli- and Italian-designed helicopters may become a political nightmare. Since Ottawa announced the \$4.4-billion acquisition last July—payments and deliveries will be spread out over 13 years—opposition parties and press advocates have attacked the choppers as unnecessary and too expensive. They stepped up their efforts last week in response to the policy surrounding Campbell's likely leadership bid. And representatives of several other potential leadership candidates, concerned about possible negative public reaction to the purchase, have approached the Ottawa-based Canadian Centre for Global Security, seeking advice on alternatives so that their candidates can distance themselves from the issue.

Under an agreement signed on Oct. 7, 1992, Ottawa will pay Montreal-based Par-



EH-101 helicopter: controversy

max Systems Inc., a subsidiary of the US combat giant, Litton Corp., \$1.4 billion to develop computer and electronics upgrade for the helicopters. A British-Belgian consortium, Westland-Douglas SpA, will receive another \$1 billion to build the helicopters in plants in both countries. The remaining \$1.8 billion will go for a support contract and the cost of operating the CH-103 over 23 years. In return, the two firms have promised to create a total of 3,000 jobs across Canada. Of the total purchase price, Ottawa's spokesman John Paul Macdonald says, Quebec and Ontario will each receive 794 jobs in contracts, while companies in Atlantic and Western Canada will share \$1.1 billion.

Kim Campbell," says Roche, former president of the B.C. Medical Association and a member of the party's National Task Force on Women. "We expect that [as justice minister] she would do a lot better crime on the streets and she has not. All she is, as a younger, female Brian Mulroney—she is carrying a lot of legacies." Adds Reform party hopeful Diana He: "I don't think her being young, minister will make much difference. The Tories are the Hungry Dynasty—too hungry up one person, you can't get them back together again."

But even Campbell's political opponents acknowledge that she will attract more voters if she wins the Tory leadership. "If she wins the leadership, she will be close to electability," says Victor Blaikie, president of the riding's Liberal Association. "It would be brutal for the rest of one—people would vote en masse for her in prime minister. She would need an abstention around her neck to lose." That illustrates, however, why almost every seat the Conservative party has won in the last election—"That helicopter deal could be her Achilles heel," says Macdonald.

Campbell's riding association workers are certainly not taking her re-election for granted. "Our intention is to go at it door-to-door," says outgoing president, Dennis Ross, a resistor. "People are very cynical about being surveyed. We will see if the last few polls are really credible." When elected to serve, however, Campbell's prospects in Vancouver Centre might depend on whether she is running as Prime Minister of Canada or as just another Tory cabinet minister.

JOHN HOWIE in Vancouver

When the military first proposed the purchase in 1983, it was justified as a necessary Cold War measure against the potential threat from Soviet missiles. But critics say that the Soviet Union's collapse has dramatically reduced that danger. And Ian MacDonald, president of Strategic Insight Planning and Communications, said that the money could instead go to equipping peacekeepers. To deflect such criticisms, defence department officials say that the helicopters will also fly search-and-rescue missions and guard Canada's coast against illegal fishing and drug smuggling.

Campbell has reportedly stated that the new aircraft are needed to replace Canada's old CH-101s and CH-102s. But according to Tom Raud, research analyst at the Centre for Global Security, the penalty clauses in the contracts are so severe that it would be politically unacceptable to cancel them. As a result, Campbell is in the awkward position of having to defend a \$4-billion expenditure that some analysts say is no longer needed.

TONI PENNELL

DECLINE AND FALL

A SPREADING
BRIBERY AND
KICKBACK SCANDAL
IS SHAKING
ITALY TO ITS
FOUNDATIONS

Businessmen's coffers are after easy money to make their point, and the clothing company's giant new padra in Milan's bustling Piazza San Babila is no exception. Looming over the sheep-sold business people strolling through the square, it simply shows the sum of two men with their names linked by hyphens. In another city the meaning might be obscure, but as one in Milan doubts its significance. Almost every day an other member of the city's political and business elite is arrested and dragged off to prison in the ever-expanding corruption scandal that is shaking Italy to its foundations. Under the Milan, the country's fashion and finance capital, legal symbolism by God, hoodlums and designers, now has a new emblem, handoff's record in elegant white.

Operation Maxi Palle (Cross Hands), Europe's biggest-ever investigation into political bribery and kickbacks, is centered on Milan, but it has spread across Italy. By last week, some 20 cities were affected and more than 800 people had been arrested. More than 1,000 others had been formally notified that they are under investigation. They include a former prime minister and a state of economists, a fifth of Italy's 680 members of parliament, and top executives of both state enterprises and flagships private companies like Fiat. Seven men have taken their own lives rather than suffer the humiliation of joining other well-heeled accused in Milan's notoriously crowded and litigious prison. Italians have been first dismayed, then outraged, by revelations suggesting that nearly every other political class had its hands in the till. The result is what senior politicians are calling a



Scandal gravity—Italy's once-vaunted, anti-bribery culture of graft and corruption in both public and private entities

peaceful revolution—one that promises to sweep away the web of political and financial power that has engulfed Italy since the Second World War. "This is not just a series of scandals, but a fundamental crisis," leading reform politician Mario Segni told *Newsweek*. "Corruption has entered the heart of the political system."

Righting the crisis intensified last week. Investigators ordered the arrest of senior executives at two of Italy's largest state-owned companies. Milan's once-brilliant emeritus by scandal, withdraws his application to host the 2000 Summer Olympic As, in the face of public outcry, the beligerent government of Prime Minister Giuliano Amato withdraws a proposal that would have received crucial penalties for

politicians accused of directly eliciting kickbacks for their parties. When Amato went to the senate in Rome to defend his government, opposition MPs showered the chamber with handfuls of fake 10,000-lire bills—mocking the bribery scandal and screamed "Invece!" and "Siamo!" at the prime minister and his allies. Amato, a normally sullen politician, finally snapped and shouted "Siamo!" (Indeed!).

Throughout Italy, a similair has gone up among military officers reviled by what

Operation Cross Hands has revealed. Italians have long been used to political innuendo—Amato's four-year coalition government, after all, is the country's 15th postwar administration. And the fact that bribery is widespread cause as an excuse to a people accustomed to handing out "tips" for even routine government services. But what Mila's investigations exposed over the past year went beyond that. It amounted to an organized system of kickbacks from government contractors and construction projects to political parties and individual politicians that by some estimates crossed off up to \$34 bil-

lion a year. The system, based on strict proportional representation, allowed party bosses in legislature seats above the heads of waters. At the same time, all parties built up vast networks of workers and patronage that required billions of lire to keep running. An estimated one million Italians work directly or indirectly for the parties, which awarded jobs in everything from hospitals to authorized banks and state-run television.

The result was what Italiens called "partitocracy"—the rule of the parties with little relevance in ordinary citizens. In some ways, says Jean-Claude Cambon, a Canadian Democrat who is leading a campaign to overhaul the country's electoral system, it resembled the sort of lenient party structure that dominated life in Communist Eastern Europe. "The ruling classes here have been amenable for almost 50 years," he said of his office in central Rome. "The parties were everything—politics, government, economy, society."

The end of the Cold War signaled the decline of that system. "We used to say, 'Well, you're not in the party, Christian Democracy,' " said Cesare Merello, president of Rome's International Affairs Institute. "Now the threat of the Communists has disappeared, so people feel freer with their votes." In a result, in last April's general election, support for the old-line Christian Democrats and Socialists slumped, while such protest parties as the far-leftist Northern League and the anti-Mafia La Rete (Network) group picked up disenchanted voters. The new political climate, in turn, allowed Mila's investigators to pursue corruption and malfeasance without political interference. Led by 40-year-old prosecutor Antonio Di Pietro, the investigations have become the new heroes of a disillusioned nation. An astounding eight million Italians tuned in to the TV broadcast of a corruption hearing that Di Pietro conducted in February. He even has his own youth club in Milan with members sporting Di Pietro T-shirts.

Operation Cross Hands began in 1991. Its investigations got their big break in February, 1993. At the time, Mario Magri, the 33-year-old owner of a cleaning company near Milan, broke up with his political kickbacks to a local Socialist party official, Mario Chiesa, who was also president of the city's road and porto's house. Magri took his complaint to Di Pietro, who was then living in a pia and latte in an apartment he delivered a seven-million lire (\$5,000) payoff to Chiesa for keeping his cleaning contract at the company house. When Chiesa uttered the incriminating words, "When are you bringing the other bills?" police moved in and arrested him.

After a few months in jail, Chiesa began telling investigators about an intricate web of party kickbacks throughout the city and country, and implicated Di Pietro in Sociali politics. The fallout has surrounded even Di Pietro's hardened magnates, who speculate off a group of wealthy officers to Milan's am-

bowing the past decade. Contracts or even those from building highways to cleaning streets, Italiens were intended to cover the cost of paying kickbacks. (Indeed!) to the parties which often divided the spoils in rough proportion to their share of the vote. Throughout Italy, Milan is now known as Tangentop (meaning roughly as贿赂者).

The problem is rooted in four decades of one-sidedly Italian politics. Below the surface tension of revolting state government, the main group of politicians has ruled since the formation of the postwar Italian republic in 1946. Christian Democrats and Socialists formed an coalition government with one overriding goal: to keep the powerful Italy's Commissario party out of government. Italy's

World Notes

TERROR IN INDIA

Bombay officials and thousands 200 people were killed and more than 1,000 were injured in a series of coordinated bomb attacks across the city. As many as 15 explosions over a 75-minute period involved several crowded sites in the Indian commercial capital, including the Bombay Stock Exchange. Shortly after the blasts, scattered Hindu-Muslim violence broke out across parts of the city.

BOMBING SUSPECT ARRESTED

Federal agents charged alleged Muslim fundamentalist Abu Alyed with "killing and shooting" the Feb. 26 bombers at the World Trade Center in Manhattan, Aug. 25, 20. New Jersey chemical engineer who was born in Kuwait, is the third suspect arrested in the bombing, which killed at least 160 people and injured more than a thousand others. Authorities also say that Alyed was responsible for the complex work of manufacturing the explosives used in the blast.

MILITARY CUTBACKS

Defense Secretary Les Aspin announced closing 31 major domestic military bases and reducing or closing more than 300 smaller facilities—a plan that he said would save \$20 billion in defense spending annually beginning in the year 2000.

PEACE OPERATIONS

Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced Aspin and Israels to resolve peace talks in Washington on April 20. But Palestinian negotiators, who bristled at discussions in December to prevent Israeli deportation of 413 Palestinians from the occupied territories to exile in south Lebanon, said they would not attend until the deportation issue is resolved.

STORM OF THE CENTURY

Frigid arctic air currents stalled with a weak, wet system from the Gulf of Mexico to create a massive storm that battered all of eastern North America. Tornadoes and rare heavy rain hit Florida, shooting major airports as it moved northward into Canada. Hurricane-force winds and freezing temperatures were blamed for at least 22 deaths.

KNIGHT TRIUMPHS

Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating claimed victory for his Labor party after a campaign dominated by economic debate. During the campaign, Keating crucially had political opponents for proposing to introduce a goods and services tax—a levy similar to one that, he said, had "fostered Canada."



DI PIETRO

The Milan prosecutor has become a hero to disaffected Italians



CRAXI

The former prime minister is the most prominent victim of the scandal



AMATO
The resignation of his cabinet ministers has paralysed his government

posing "decisive" conclusions. "We had no idea it would be anything like this," said Piero Scalfaro, one of three investigating magistrates on Di Pietro's team. "We discovered a very organized network of payoffs to all parties."

Since that breakthrough, the investigation has widened to reach the highest levels of Italian public life. The most prominent so far is Bettino Craxi, prime minister from 1983 to 1987 and leader of the Socialist party for 16 years. He received several official warnings that he was being investigated for alleged corruption and exerted, and resigned on Feb. 11. Others who have been or are said to have been a formal target include about 125 MPs, half of Milan's city council, the chief tax audit office, and, in a recent March 3 decree, Anselmo Amato's entire ministry. Some, like Craxi, have resigned after being told that they are under investigation, and a fourth, Carlo Bigio di Meana, quit last week in disgrace at the spreading scandal.

The crisis has produced overwhelming consensus among Italians that their political system must fundamentally change. Requests for change are focused on a referendum set for April 16, when voters will decide whether to scrap the proportional representation system for elections in the Senate—which awards seats even to minor parties based on their share of the vote in a particular region—and replace it with a Canadian-style, winner-takes-all system. Last year, more than one million Italians signed petitions in favor of such a referendum. They were circulated by the Popular Reform Movement, the spin-off group founded by Segni, the anti-Socialist Christian Democrat who maintains that such an apparently radical change would result in more Italian politics.

Proportional representation has produced a constellation of minority parties, guaranteeing that no one group could ever form a government on its own. In the wake of Italy's recent experience with Fascist rule from the mid-1920s to early 1940s, that appeared good. But in practice it meant that the Christian Democrats effectively held suburban power with feuilleton support. "The system has been totally blocked," said Segni. A winner-takes-all system he proposed, would force the parties to reorganize into a few major groups that would alternate in power—the Liberals and Conservatives in Canada. Most analysts predict that voters will overwhelmingly approve the change, paving the way for elections under the new system by early 1994.

In the meantime, however, the revelations of corruption have triggered a series of already weak governments and fuelled protest movements from both north and south. Only a few months ago, Amato's administration was winning high praise for an ambitious plan to cut Italy's soaring deficit, proportionately the largest among advanced European countries, and praise the public sector by cutting some social services and privatizing many state-owned enterprises. Those plans, however, have been derailed as the government struggles just to survive from week to week. The government's main obstacle, say observers, is that so polarized is society that the wrath of voters in an early election—and so the opposition parties prefer to keep Amato in office.

At the same time, netherodox protest groups are drawing new support from the discrediting of the old system. One is La Storia, which started as an anti-Mafia party in Sicily but now has support in the north as well. Headed by senator Leoluca Orlando, a

Christian-Democrat mayor of Palermo who made his name as a Mafia fighter there, La Storia won 25 seats in parliament last April and now campaigns as a new force for change. More traditional to the old order is the Northern League, which advocates a federal system of three republics—north, south and central. The League was born as a protest party, tapping into the fury over of rearmament hit by prosperous, efficient northerners of what they see as the corrupt, inefficient south. The fact that the corruption scandal broke out in Milan, the north's leading city, has not changed that perception. "In Milan we have just seen the first results against corruption," said Francesco Bigonzetti, the League's leader in the Senate. "But when they go back to the south, they will find a much more corrupt place."

That is almost certainly true. As they outlined the end of the government of Italia's last prime minister, some Italians wondered whether the Milan investigations are going too far. In the present climate of suspicion, they say, every public figure who is inferred to be under investigation is automatically assumed to be guilty—and the result could be a witch-hunt that would lead to further injustice. "You now have a presumption of guilt," said Luigi Speranza, an adviser to the finance ministry. "This can get out of control." Di Pietro himself has said that there must be a political rather than just a political solution—such as an amnesty for politicians who confess to corruption and quit public life. But for the moment, Italians appear to be enjoying the lathering of their new-found talents—and looking forward to a new system cleansed of the worst excesses.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Milan

Trafalgar Square, London.



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Down but not out

Boris Yeltsin takes his case to the people

They came from across Russia to the gilded splendor of Moscow's Grand Kremlin Palace, 1,033 members of the country's highest legislative body arriving for an anticipated showdown with President Boris Yeltsin. The legislators, a majority wanting to turn back the pace of Russia's free market and political reforms, have been locked in a bitter power struggle with Yeltsin since last year. And the emergency session of the Congress of People's Deputies delivered on its promised political theatrics. The stormy four-day meeting produced two walked-out Yeltsin, caustic writings of censuring and censures from both sides—*in the end*—resolution that sharply curtailed the president's powers, and although the deputies themselves refused to endorse the president's call for a national referendum, that would settle the dispute, the 68-year-old Russian leader defiantly pledged to hold it anyway. Weakened but unbowed, Yeltsin turned to back on the parliamentary forces to return to the political scene where he is most comfortable as a popular crusader against the old Communist guard.

By any measure, the planned referendum is a gamble. Over the past year, Russians have grown tired of the confusing political outrage and become disengaged by their ailing economy. Even in the chaotic music, the chamber grew increasingly polarized, the numbers of demonstrators both for and against Yeltsin outside the Kremlin remained small. But in a decision to hold his referendum on April 26—a last-ditch gambit that will ask Russians if they want the president or parliament to hold supreme authority—has many Russians suddenly fearing that the country might plunge into chaos. "It could even lead to the breakup of the country," warned Ruslan Khishchuk, the legislative speaker who has emerged as Yeltsin's chief opponent. And while Russians still care from splitting over civil rights, the confusion and uncertainty caused by the political handbargaining at street level.

Last week's events clearly affected other world leaders as well. In Washington, President Bill Clinton pledged support for Yeltsin—he is scheduled to meet the Russian leader in Vancouver on April 3 and 4. Clinton also

encouraged the Group of Seven industrialized countries, which will meet in Tokyo in July, to convene an earlier meeting aimed at finding ways to shore up the Russian economy and strengthen Yeltsin's position. Russia, and the U.S. President, "can still have a bright future as part of a peaceful coalition of nations of the world and I just hope that we'll have the opportunity to do it." To calm Western fears,



Yeltsin speaking as Khishchuk watches, rough talk

Yeltsin and senior Russian military officers pledged that they would not use force to resolve the power struggle—although the president does appear to retain the support of both the armed forces and internal security service.

The political victories last week went to the hardliners at the Congress. Discouraged over Yeltsin's economic policies, which have led to a steep decline in industrial production and soaring prices, have outshone the reformers who control the legislature. After his election in June, 1996, Yeltsin assumed special decree powers, which the Congress has since curtailed

several times. Last week, charging that Yeltsin had exceeded his authority through such acts as trying to ban the Communist party, a measure that has since been overturned by the country's constitutional court, the deputies passed a harshly worded resolution that accused the president of wrecking the economy and plunging Russia into poverty. According to a resolution entitled Appeal to Russian Citizens, allowing Yeltsin to continue ruling by decree overruled the will of the country, sliding back into dictatorship.

Last week's legislative measures stripped Yeltsin of most of his authority. The architect of the parliamentary assault on the president was Khishchuk, a 50-year-old former economic planner who was close to one of Yeltsin's closest allies. The two men stood shoulder-to-shoulder against the right-wing coup plotters who tried to seize power in August, 1991. It was Yeltsin who largely arranged Khishchuk's rise to power by appointing him as his deputy. And Khishchuk rewarded the favor by helping Yeltsin secure his presidential decree powers. But now, then, their personal ambitions have turned them into rivals.

Now, in the grand scheme, Khishchuk has earned fear and respect—but little affection or admiration. For one thing, he is a Chechen, a member of a Muslim minority within Russia that wants independence for its enclave in the Caucasus mountains. In a country wracked by ethnic tension, many Russians express hatred for Chechens, viewing them for the country's rising crime rate. But Khishchuk's political style also grants him some respect. His language is sharp—last week he addressed members of Yeltsin's cabinet as "wusses"—and many of his comments towards the small number of women deputies have been sexist. But, and this is remarkable, one of the less than 50 women legislators, "Khishchuk is made to men and women alike."

But even Yeltsin supporters acknowledge that Khishchuk had wanted the president instead. Bill Clinton, a Yeltsin aide, said that the president's powers had been "exceeded by the president" and that he had been left a mere figurehead, with a status equivalent to that of the British Queen. Bill, Yeltsin is a nation and an impulsive leader who remains the most popular politician in Russia. He too, talked tough last week, issuing several reminders that he enjoys the support of the military. His walkout from Congress clearly signaled the end of that long-running drama. But there is no consensus on what comes next. Said one deputy last week: "Under communism we lived in a big concentration camp. Now we live in a chaotic asylum."

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

Botafogo Beach, Rio de Janeiro



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THE UNITED STATES

Faith in firearms

Texans will not be parted from their guns

I am born and raised way out west.
But the thing that I like best living here best,
Ain't the mountains or valleys,
The hills or the roads.

I'm having plenty of guns and something to shoot
—Texas country singer Chara Wall

The Glock Model 22, 40-caliber semi-automatic pistol, settles into the heel with lethal ease. In the darkness long range, the three tiny luminous dots embedded on the gun's sights for better night shooting line up on the flared rectangle of white paper that is the target—the “target” for the purpose of this gunnery exercise. The shooter's index finger contracts gently on the trigger and yellow flares split from the gun's muzzle. Blood drives the shooter's veins immediately to his hands and head. The accurate one-third of a gun's discharge reverberates across his thick, sun-bleached fingers. In a matter of seconds, the shooter seizes the gun's 15-round magazine and the instant paper target “I know what you do, I’m a subversive Delta shooter,” smirks Houston shooting instructor Herald Peoples of the Glock. “It’s made for my hand.”

Peoples' affection for his firearms is shared by millions of Americans—and nowhere more fervently than in Texas. The gun-crazed



Karenly: federal agents in Waco (below); a Rambo-style assault

AP/WIDEWORLD

ministrator's semi-automobile pistol is only one of 68 million guns that the state's 17 million residents are allowed to own, a freedom that is unique for each man, woman and child. That attitude prevails, several have been measured under Texas laws that require only a valid state driver's license to purchase a gun. But enthusiasts for firearms are not universal in the Lone Star state. Dallas graphic designer Sandy Stoddard, 36, one, says that she wishes for “a great magnet to suck up all the guns in the country.” In fact, Stoddard, who last month placed the daunting range of a toddler gunning down the barrels of a revolver on a gun-safety billboard, says that American society is in the grip of a costly and futile domestic arms race.

“I buy a .38 and you get a .44,” she said. “I get a semi-automatic and you buy an Uzi.” But last week, against the backdrop of a tense standoff between federal and a heavily armed religious sect near Waco, Americans were growing public support for gun-law reform.

Not all proposed changes go in the same direction. In Congress, the support of President Bill Clinton has brought new life into the so-called Brady Bill, which would obligate handgun buyers to wait five days before taking delivery of a weapon to allow time for background checks and to prevent impulse purchases. In Canada, a 30-day waiting period and police background checks are required for all gun transactions, and special permits are required for handguns. In New Jersey, meanwhile, is poised this week to overturn a ban on most semi-automatic weapons, while Arizona's governor proposed a bill limiting teenagers' access to guns. In Texas, there are gun-related catastrophes before the legislature in Austin, one aimed at banning assault-type rifles and another at permitting Texans to carry hidden handguns as well. They neatly reflected a new degree of ferment along the deep divide that has long existed in American society over the treasured right to bear arms.

That right, enshrined in the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution, lay at the heart of the Waco confrontation. The 19th-century federal compound belonging to the Branch Davidians, an offshoot of the Seventh-Day Adventists, began on Feb. 28, 44 hours ago, a gun battle between federal agents, troopers, and gunmen (including at least one 50-caliber weapon capable of firing rounds designed to pierce light armor). Four agents

Chuo District,
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and when those inside the compound opened fire with at least some of those weapons, the authorities retrenched to positions more than 200 m from the compound. But after achieving the release of 35 children and two elderly women in the days immediately following the botched raid, negotiations with self-styled prophet David Koresh, 33, and more than 400 followers began down.

The botched raid and its tragic aftermath prompted a furor of criticism directed at the ATF, the 8-agency responsible for enforcing federal gun laws. Armchair critics, who failed to review relevant laws or write to newspaper editors, questioned why the agency had used what one Dallas letter writer, Ned Doss, called "a Kevorkian assault on a religious group that had done no harm to anyone." One spokesman for the militant anti-abortion organization Operation Rescue went even further: "It is time for Christians to rise up against the ATF," Russell Terry declared. Other critics wondered aloud why the agency had not simply arrested Koresh during one of his regular visits from the sect's compound.

ATF spokesman countered that their operations had been well planned, and they blamed ex-Dalies on a telephone call that the agency claimed had tipped off the sect members just moments before Koresh's raid was launched. Spokesman for the IRS, meanwhile, appeared unmoved when reporters suggested that authorities had lost control of the smouldering "We have sufficient firepower, if we choose, to



Peoples on the firing range with Carol Stepien's right-to-one deadly force

completely neutralize this situation of any threat," spokesman Rains said on March 9. But he and other IRS spokesman stressed repeatedly that they did not plan to assault the compound but rather to negotiate.

The potent combination of firearms and anti-abortion faith had fuelled previous violent standoffs in the United States. Several small groups of adherents of the fiercely anti-

Seventh Christian Identity religious sect fought pitched gun battles with authorities in Arkansas and North Dakota in 1993 and 1995, killing four law officers and their anti-abortion, anti-abortion child. In January 1996, a 13-day stand-off between adherents and a tiny group of uncommunicated Mormons in Marion, Utah, ended with a corrections officer dead. Still, a lone gunman inflicted the worst carnage

in Texas's violent history in October 1991. Unemployed sailor George Hennard, whose mother was a cultist, opened fire on a train into a Luby's restaurant in Killeen, Tex., 75 km southwest of Waco, and shot 23 terrified diners before turning his gun on himself.

One of the survivors of that attack is now among the most passionate voices arguing that Texas gun laws should be relaxed even further. On the afternoon that Koresh's attack cracked through the front window of Luby's, chronicle for De-Susanna Gratus was doing this with her parents: "My father died in an attempt to make the person her mother was the last to be killed before Koresh's suicide."

Gratus, 33, blames her inability to intervene that day on her devotion, several months earlier, to pack legally carrying a concealed handgun and Western 30-caliber. Aftermath that she practised firing regularly in a local shooting range. "I had made the choice decision to take my gun out of my purse," she told MacLean's, "because that's because concerned about losing my characteristic license." If she had persisted in carrying her gun in defiance of state law, Gratus is convinced, "I would have known that guy away." Now, she hopes to see quick passage of a measure proposed by Fort Worth, Texas, state representative William Clegg: it would allow her to carry a concealed handgun legally on completion of a 15-hour training course.

Houston lawyer Gerald Dutton, a Democrat who is also a state representative, considers

that proposal "a terrible idea." Dutton prefers the measure that he has been trying to get legislature approved for years: to make it illegal to prohibit Texans from carrying out of state a gun of different types of weapons, including the semi-automatic 90-47 and the assault 16. In Dutton's view, such military-style weapons have no legitimate operations use, "unless you were attacked by a herd of deer that all had 30s."

The massacre at Killeen and the Waco firefight may have changed the political climate since ATF first proposed a ban on assault rifles. Then, critics labelled the proposal as even "anti-Christian," he recalls. After the ATF's failed raid on Koresh's compound, however, Dutton received encouragement from Texas Gov Ann Richards, a Democrat who even goes so far as to say that she enjoys hunting. She told reporters, "It is time to recognize that these [assault] weapons are not something that fits into the good old Texas way of gun ownership." But as a state shaped in the mythology of the gun-toting frontier, where disputes were settled man-to-man with the famous 45-caliber, single-action Army Colt — "The gun that won the West" — there was a powerful resistance to any measure that would ban Texans from the weapons that they regularly use, Dutton Dutton acknowledges. "You could probably move successfully take away their wives and kids and dogs, before you'd take away their guns."

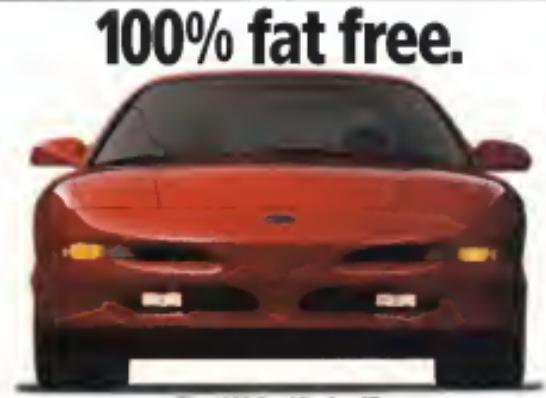
At the Bullet Trip firing range in the north

Dallas suburb of Plano, seven Texans made their earnings plan last week by putting down bids for Plano's three-hour introduction to hunting. "I was I didn't have to be here," said a married woman in her mid-40s who identified herself only as Kathleen. "But as a violent society, I'm afraid I think I have to be here."

Joseph McCrary, a grandfatherly manufacturing executive, said that he and his wife, Linda, decided to attend the course after "we were cold-called twice and we had an attempted robbery two weeks ago." For her part, student court reporter Gina Ellens took evident delight in unleashing the roar of a .357 magnum at the range's paper targets. "My dad always said, 'If you're going to shoot, shoot to kill,'" she observed, grinning. "I will shoot to kill."

Se would instructor old-store manager Pepe. In his weekly classes, he often has students clear-cut views on what he considers to be their inalienable right to use deadly force to protect themselves against violence that often seems to overwhelm the established forces of law in this country. It is a right that many Americans plainly feel is more necessary now than at any time since it was established in their Constitution in 1790, the one with some citizens able to summon individuals that challenge even the agency mandated to keep peace arms at check, it is a right that is increasingly likely to face new tests.

CHERYL WOOD in Dallas



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steep initial inclination to toe out, making turns seem too low and far between.

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THE KING OF CABLE

TED ROGERS IS IN THE MIDDLE OF A HEATED DEBATE OVER THE FUTURE OF CANADIAN TELEVISION

Eward (Ted) Rogers, president of the largest cable television company in Canada, Rogers Communications Inc., acknowledges a little sheepishly that his viewing habits are different from those of the average Canadian, who logs 2.8 hours in front of a TV set each day. Rogers is a 58-year-old multimillionaire who conducted his doctoral thesis on television with his television three days after his first year in the program. Now, he is in the middle of a campaign to increase cable rates in order to provide the technology necessary to greatly expand the number of channels available on television. But the increased selective will not make much difference to Rogers, who each night takes home five hundred linchpins packed with material requiring his immediate attention. He says that he watches very little television. "I watch news and business news in the morning—in the bathroom," he said. "Actually that's where I watch television the most." His second viewing preference is also a character "like-reading moment," he said, "movies with lots of action."

Rogers has pursued business action relentlessly since he started his communications empire in 1959 when he was still a law student in Toronto. At that time, following the example set by his father, an early communications pioneer who in the 1930s developed the technology that allowed radio transmitters to direct electricity rather than infrared, Rogers founded the Rogers-Deacon Radio Station, located in Galt, Ontario, and Toronto, Ontario, circa 1930. Now, after more than 35 years of expanding his communications empire by adding telecommunications as key emerged, Rogers appears poised to reap the rewards of his diligent investments. In addition



Rogers' technologies are converging

soon, Rogers Communications is uniquely positioned to benefit from the coming convergence of the three main telecommunications tools, telephones, television and computers. Rogers says that he has always been prepared to gamble on the future, even though it has brought his company closer to financial collapse on several occasions, most recently just 2½ years ago.

Now, Rogers, along with the rest of the Canadian cable TV industry, is seeking a 10-per-cent rate increase. The contentious

process is necessary, Rogers argued before the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in Ottawa this month, to enable the cable companies to beat off competition from the so-called direct-to-satellite broadcasters. The broadcasters, which send signals directly to small home-satellite dishes, are scheduled to begin broadcasting drama shows this fall next year.

The cable companies, including Maclean Hunter Cable TV Inc., owned by the company that publishes *Maclean's*, are also seeking the cable rate increase to supply new digital compression boxes, which will greatly increase the number of cable channels available to all current subscribers to cable television services.

But the latest round is the tag-end of a battle that Rogers and the CRTC have been waging since 1983. Last year, the commission imposed an important injunction over when the regulatory body allowed *United Communications* live to enter the long-distance telephone market. Rogers owns 32 per cent of *United* and the CRTC's decision, in effect, gave it a stake in the last of three big segments of the telecommunications industry. In addition to owning 16 radio stations and a multichannel television system, Rogers Communications has 14 cable television systems, with 1.6-million subscribers, and it owns the country's largest cellular telephone company, with 400,000 subscribers. That concentration of assets leaves

Rogers well positioned to take advantage of the new era of so-called convergence driving the telecommunications industry.

Convergence is the industry buzzword for the greatest merger or overlapping of the functions of telephones, televisions and computers. Some industry predict that ultimately there will be one super giant company that will control all of these functions. Others, including Rogers, disagree with the one-size-fits-all view. Rogers says that such large will continue to be served by more than one, but the survivors will survive. In the future, they say, telephone companies will be able to supply movies, while the cable companies will be able to carry telephone calls and customers will enjoy the benefits of competition.

Regardless of how the future unfolds, however, Rogers, the king of convergence, is in a unique position to compete. "There isn't anything quite like Rogers in the United States, or anywhere else that I know of," said El Noss, director of the Center for Telecommunications and Information Studies at Columbia University in New York City, of Rogers's diversification strategy. "That's where the future is going to be, multichannel companies that do a bit of everything," Noss added. "Furthermore, if you call it a competitive disadvantage, if a company does it first, it won't be losing because one of its competitors comes out last."

Rogers says that the strategy is appropriate for an industry driven by sudden technology breakthroughs that can make once-lustrous sectors obsolete almost overnight. He describes his company's dramatic move into long-distance telephone communication last year as "a different chapter in the same book." Rogers's businesses share similar characteristics: "They are all telecommunications," he said. "They are highly capital-intensive, have a high degree of technological change, and a high degree of regulation." As a result, Rogers has also had to move from one business to expand into the next. Rogers's long-distance telephone company, for one, is in the process of adding subscribers to the long-distance lines of the telephone company.

The convergence of technologies, and the potential for competition that it is creating, is causing administration problems for the old regime long-distance monopolies, including the telephone and cable television companies as well. Even Rogers Communications, which is leading the charge into telecommunications while trying to stave off its cable television franchise from competition, frequently finds the measures ad hoc. When Rogers recently addressed the CRTC about his proposed rate increase, chairman Keith Speer could not sustain his credibility at Rogers's argument. Said Speer, "You're asking us to do—well, let's say to create—Canadian subscribers to come up with quite a lot of money for your industry to build an infrastructure which would be used to provide a whole lot of other services that have nothing to do with what normal people call television, like home shopping and banking."

Just two years ago, Rogers argued passionately before the same commission for the long-

Business Notes

A HOLE IN THE SYSTEM

In an effort to hold down soaring power rates and reduce an \$84-billion deficit, Ontario Hydro announced it would cut rates at 47 hydroelectric generating stations. Ontario Hydro said that Canada's largest utility, will eliminate 4,800 of 35,000 jobs this year. It also said that Hydro will put off its estimated \$3 billion in repairs to the power system's oldest plant, allowing four stations there to operate until regulators say that they are no longer safe. The moves are expected to cut Hydro's debt by a third over the next 10 years.

HAMMERING AT STEEL DRAWS

Plans to provide Cape Breton Steel Corp. with \$100 million by Nova Scotia government received a blow when New York City-based Kable Corp. and Co. declined to proceed with a deal to buy the steel plant. Kableberg said that it had withdrawn because of continued trade relations between Canada and the United States. Despite the uncertainty in the market, Toronto-based Dofasco Inc. and New York-based Co-Steel Inc. announced they will share the cost of building a \$750-million mill in the United States. Company spokesmen did not reveal the location of the new mill, but said it will use scrap from the United States.

A NEW POWER ON WALL STREET

Greencore, the east-based Primesco Corp., struck a deal to buy American Express Co.'s Shearson Lehman Bros. Inc. unit for \$1.2 billion, effectively putting Shearson Lehman back in the hands of Primesco chairman William W. Primesco, who left the firm in 1981. The deal positions Primesco as the world's largest brokerage company, after Merrill Lynch & Co.

DIVING CREDIT FOR LOVABILITY

Ontario, Ont.-based General Motors of Canada Ltd. and Toronto-Dominion Bank introduced a new Visa credit card that is intended to help build customer loyalty. Consumers using the car card will gain a credit equal to five per cent of their purchases, with a cap of \$3,500 over seven years, that may be used against the purchase or lease of any GM car or truck except those sold at Saturn dealership.

EXTENSION GRANTED

An Ontario court granted Toronto-based Peoples Jewellers Ltd., which filed for bankruptcy protection last December, an extension of its deadline to file an reorganization plan. Peoples, which operates 725 jewelry stores across Canada, saw its March 22 to restructure as it also considers several purchase offers.

distance market is to be opened to competition, competing, with a rhetorical flourish, of the "telecommunications entrepreneurs" and the "present telecommunications industry." Instead, Rogers' facility at ongoing efforts to side of the communication arguments the object of political management in the industry. Said Jim Angus, president of Angus TeleManagement Group in Ajax, Ont.: "Tom Rogers must suffer from a bad case of cognitive dissonance." (Cognitive dissonance is the term for psychological conflict that results from holding two or more incompatible beliefs simultaneously.) Ernie Rogers acknowledged the awkwardness of his position. "It's like having four children," said Rogers, who has just that number. "You tell each of them something a little different."

Despite the current conflict, Rogers' success in the highly regulated communications industry—as evidenced by his unprecedented speed in four key industry sectors regulated by the CRTC—in the result, in part, analysis of his ability to get along with the commission. Said Angus: "What Rogers is really good at is running a company in a regulated industry." And despite the rhetoric, Rogers says that he neither expects nor wants complete independence. "We are still completely dependent on the Canadian government and Rogers," continued Angus. "Without the CRTC, we added, "I would feel naked." In exchange for meeting the commission's requirements, including things as supporting the Canadian broadcasting system, Rogers and other cable company owners are allowed a return-on-assets in excess of 20 per cent, far higher than the returns earned in most deregulated industries. If their returns fall below that, they can apply for rate hikes.

The federal government's regulatory system has frequently worked to Rogers' advantage. The CRTC opened the long-distance telephone market to Unitel in June, on terms that some analysts claim are exceptionally favorable. Said one communications analyst, who declined to speak for attribution: "Let's just say if Ernie Maloney is looking for a job, he deserves to be chairman of Unitel."

Although the analysis stressed that he was not suggesting any wrongdoing, it noted that Rogers's long-standing relationship with the Prime Minister, as well as other senior political players, has not harmed his reputation. Indeed, Mulroney and Rogers have been connected for 30 years, since the days when both young men were enthusiastic supporters of Conservative Prime Minister John Diefenbaker. Although Rogers supported for Clark rather than Mulroney in the 1983 Tory leadership campaign, he was among the group of 30 power brokers Mulroney avoided to ensure the right people became his confidants from politics.

Despite Rogers's political skills, his greatest business strength is his memory and almost infallible ability to remember ways in which

to marry the latest communication technology with the wants and needs of consumers. For when Mulroney asked him to speak about the future, Rogers declined instead on the state of the economy, not the wonders of technology.

Although he has spent his entire career preoccupied with communication, the sector now widely described as one of the leading growth industries of the house, he says that he is fascinated by the domain of manufacturing in North America. "We need manufacturing," he said. "Manufacturing has been pretty important down through history, for creating wealth and providing a good standard of living. History shows that at the beginning of the century, investments were made in Britain but the products were manufactured in America." He



Maloney: his long friendship with Rogers has not harmed the entrepreneur

added: "After two world wars and a few close-of-machines, England became relatively impoverished. You can take that same analogy now and move it west. There are tremendous opportunities being made in North America today, but the mass production is being done in Asia."

Rogers is a man more outside his own interests. He says that Rogers Communications is finally poised to become profitable in about 12 years, if it continues a growth rate of 10 per cent. Instead, it has reinvested its earnings back into the company, to build a cable network and enter new businesses, including cellular telephones and long-distance. But Rogers says he is changing his focus. "We are concentrating on making the existing business profitable," he said. "We are not going into other parts of the world, we are not getting involved in new things. But on the other hand, if by the end of the decade there was a new invention, just like cellular was a new invention in the 1980s, it would be impor-

tant for us to continue innovating and pioneering." Despite the lack of profit, investors have held off from Rogers's equity offerings. That has left up the share price to such an extent that one share, purchased 19 years ago for \$7 is now worth \$115.

But the company's growth, financed largely by debt, has involved risk. In fact, Rogers says that the company had its third serious financial crisis just 25 years ago. "We were about eight hours away," he said. "Often those things come unexpectedly. We were going along and then all of a sudden in August, 1969, there was a tremendous downturn in the economy. It was like going down a cliff." Rogers says that his partner in Unitel, Canadian Pacific Ltd., helped out. Following that near-disaster, Rogers repaid \$3 billion worth of bank debt

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Competing channels

Regulators debate television's future

From a television standpoint, the setting is dark but the script is packed with drama. Throughout March, an epic political battle is raging as a fluorescent-lit public hearing room in the basement of the Bell Hall Gas. At stake is the future of Canadian television, with each of the contestants portraying themselves as defenders of the realm. Almost all of them have mounted wirings of satellite, "multicable," transmissions, "optical" cable subscribers and "Americanism." Their proposed solutions are equally divisive. Cable companies want billions of dollars in rate increases to compete against U.S.-based satellites that could soon bring up to 300 channels into Canadian homes. Consumer advocacy groups, in turn, are calling for an end to the cable monopoly. Telecommunications companies support them, and their executives claim that digital technology could make cheap video programing only a phone call away. Meanwhile, broadcasters are demanding at least \$130 million a year from the cable companies to preserve Canadian programming. All of the parties are vying for the favor of seven men and two women, who make up the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), seated behind a table loaded with paper and empty coffee cups.

By the end of March, the commissioners may have gathered enough evidence to bring the charged negotiations to a conclusion with some sharper focus.

The CRTC's industry chairman, Keith Speare, acknowledges that it is a daunting task, but notes that he clearly relishes it. In his opening remarks on March 2, Speare predicted that the gathering could be "the mother of all hearings." He added: "We are for a colorfully contentious and, we hope, productive debate." But critics warn that the debate must also lead to action if Canada's broadcast industry is to survive against a digital wave of new programing—from 24-hour *Madonna* or *Military* channels, to a variety of educational courses on demand.

Midway through the hearings last week, which were telecast live, little has been

already firmly drawn. Representatives of consumers, telephone companies and writers and professors called for greater cooperation to widen the market for programs. Cable company executives, in turn, said that Canada needs stricter regulations to protect its culture—and their markets. But in addition to reviewing the role of every participant in the industry, the commission will have to assess its own ability to enforce any rules in an era of accelerating technological change.

At the heart of these challenges is digital technology, which has already revolutionized



Michael McGehee: a desire to bring Canadian programing to the United States

the music industry with digital recording and compact discs. In a digital system, sound or light requires an encoded waveform that can be converted back to crystal-clear signals by special receivers. But anyone who has made their living as a television in Canada, that technology opens the door to new opportunities as well as new threats. Cable operators say that technology will allow them to compete up to 30 broadcast channels or lines that now only carry one. But digital technology will also make it easier for telephone companies to transmit video signals by telephone, and it has also expanded the potential for satellites to

beam broadcast signals directly to households.

Indeed, the cable operators say that the largest satellite channels in their industry is DirecTV, a Los Angeles-based direct broadcast satellite service that plans to scan down—and eventually broadcast—of channels into Canada starting in the fall. Viewers will be able to receive them through 16-circuit satellite dishes that cost about \$600. Technically, passing signals with the large satellite dishes currently available on the market is a slope. But regulators have almost completely abandoned enforcement of those restrictions. For that reason, cable company executives have nicknamed the satellites deathstars that will kill both their \$1.5 billion-a-year industry and most television production in Canada as well. Their proposed alternative is to install digital compression boxes in the homes of all their subscribers by 2003 at a total cost of \$7.2 billion. The boxes would allow viewers to receive hundreds of channels through upgraded cable networks. About three-quarters of Canadian homes receive cable TV.

But the cable operators

also argue that they have to pass along the full cost of installing that equipment to consumers. And Brian Doerksen, president of Maclean-Hunter Ltd., owner of Maclean-Hunter Cable TV, one of the country's largest cable operators, and of *Maclean's* magazine: "There is only one person who bears the bill, but say you end up at the end of the day, it's the consumer."

Telstar Canada, the privately owned Montreal-based company that has a monopoly over Canada's overseas telephone communications, is proposing another method for narrowing the challenge from U.S. satellite services. Telstar wants to create a Canadian satellite system with the cable companies that would operate under cable protection. "It would be a Canadian satellite system," said Telstar spokesman Long, adding that the satellite could reach rural areas and supplement cable service with up to 300 channels. Like the cable owners, Telstar claims that U.S. competitors are driven solely by greed, have little or no concern for developing programming and would destroy the delicate fabric of Canadian culture. Long added that the commission should also make it illegal for Canadian stations to sell the dish antennas needed to receive satellite signals, even if it is unable to stop those signals from being beamed into Canada.

Last week, James Ross, a DirecTV vice-president, appeared before the commission to



Spencer with CRTC member Beverly Gofe, DirecTV satellite (below) distributor debate

defend his company against what he called "unfriendly comments." Ross said that his satellite service will supplement, not replace, cable, with pay-per-view movies, sports and news, and not music or major league. Ross predicted that DirecTV will also be able to sign up to 50,000 Canadian subscribers next year and up to one million viewers within the next decade. He said that the cable industry's warnings are unfounded because "the market is driven as to have a strong chunk of our programming Canadian."

For his part, Stanley S. Hubbard, a St. Paul, Minn.-based entrepreneur who plans to start up another satellite service next spring, said that satellite is not a one-way proposition.

"We want to bring Canadian program into the United States," said Hubbard, whose service will concentrate on specialty channels. "This might be a deadstar for cable, but it's an opportunity for broadcasters." Spokes, for one, appeared to be sympathetic to those arguments. "None of you look like David Vadeo so far," he said.

The cable companies' proposals to force U.S. satellite services have also received protest from Canadian consumer advocacy groups, who argue that monopoly cable operators have over-charged Canadian and should be forced to compete with satellite transmission or telephone companies. "The telephone should be protecting interests, not an existing interests," said Rosalie Daly Todd, acting executive-director of the Canadian Association of Canadians.

Todd said that she wants the CRTC to treat

the satellite as an opportunity for more choice and better programing—not as an excuse to further restrict the market. Added Todd: "The only thing that is being threatened in this exercise is cable's monopoly." And James

McGehee, broadcast's tried to shift the commission's focus from debating about delivery systems to promoting Canadian content. "You are not going to win the battle for the viewer on technology alone," said Michael McGehee, president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters. "If people just see crap in cable, they are going to switch to direct-broadcast satellites." The association sought permission to start charging cable operators between \$100 million and \$300 million to carry their signals. At present, broadcasters rely on advertising revenue to purchase or produce programs that the cable companies transmit without paying royalties.

Whatever delivery system the CRTC chooses, many of the producers, directors and others who already create Canadian programming say that more channels may not necessarily mean more choices or more opportunities for them. They claim that many of the channels will carry the same program or movies as existing networks, or they will be aimed at specific audiences.

Their argument is that more channels are available and it is an option already available to most Canadian networks.

Other programs will be offered as a pay-per-view basis, with costs ranging from \$25 for an old movie screen to more than \$15 for current concert, sports matches and other special events.

In its submissions to the commission, Toronto Women in Film and Television, which includes female producers, directors, distributors, crews and entertainment lawyers, called on the CRTC to change cable revenues directly to independent producers. They argued that the network and cable owners earn healthy profits, while the actual content creators tend to have difficulty raising funds.

To a large extent, the most enthusiastic participant in the hearing may be the CRTC itself. Critics say that new technology will bring an era of more choice and greater freedom. "Canada is a unique place," said Hubbard. "If people want to receive satellite signals, they just have to buy a dish." McGehee believed that the commission could become irrelevant if "you just call a 1-800 number in Utah to get your service." For Maclean and many of the other 143 participants in the hearing, the CRTC's central task is to channel more funds into producing quality program for consumers. "The desire for Canadian program is there," said Maclean. "The challenge is to enable viewers and listeners to send their dollars to the creators of these programs." Still television may soon force all of those in the Canadian television industry to find for themselves.



critics put last year. But because they are eager to use a slice of the profits from television transmitters, they, too, have become advocates of the free market. Last week, Joyce O'Meara, president of Ottawa-based Ottawa Telecommunications Policy Inc., which represents Canada's major provincial telephone companies, argued that broadcasters should "lose the luxury of choosing the lowest-cost delivery of their programming packages." She added, "Regulation should not artificially restrain pay players." Other St. Paul officials told the CRTC that telephone companies would naturally provide teleprogramming and training seminars for business users, with an eventual expansion into video and pay TV.

SHANE BRAAF with LUKE PISERI in Ottawa

Hearing the wake-up

Competition may lead to a policy review

One of the latest channels, a mobile phone discount bureau, is a prime例 of this swing, oblivious to the erosion around it—and a telephone rings. On another channel, a Bell Canada telephone directory studio is a stack of telephone directory cases while the telephone of a rival company writhes in the shadows. Such aggressive advertisements are just the latest shot in an increasingly heated corporate battle over Canada's lucrative long-distance telephone market, led by a sector that has been transformed by a single, seismic corporate re-structure. The telephone business has undergone a dramatic transformation over the past year and a half.

advertising campaigns. At stake is Canada's lucrative \$7 billion long-distance market, which, until now, has been the exclusive domain of Montreal-based Bell Canada and a alliance of nine Toronto-based provincial telephone utilities. Some Toronto-based telephone manufacturers complain that Angus "The teleconcommunications sector has been an area of change and flux for 15 years. But I've never seen anything like this level of corporate chaos."

In the foreseeable future, neither the pace of that change nor the ensuing chaos are expected to abate. In fact, they will likely reach new levels this year as a host of funding conditions promise to source of

In June, federal regulators decided to allow long-distance competition to encourage the development of technological innovation and lower prices. As a result, the telecommunications sector has suddenly erupted with fierce rivalry, new partnerships, alliances, divests, mergers and, above all,

Jeff's Ontario network operations center is Toronto-based.

ersario based Cell Net Communications, that are trying to swallow smaller operators, develop their own products—and offer even lower prices.

Most of this sector saw activity, however, being played out in a regulatory vacuum. While the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) is now endorsed the principle of competition, it is still unclear how the regulation of

market will stand. Although the CRTC may have close jurisdiction over the rates set by all Canadian telephone companies, many industry analysts say that the rapid pace of technological change and the recent introduction of competition signal the need for a more comprehensive review—and perhaps a full telecommunications regulation. Said Gordon French, a law professor at the University of Toronto: "The central issue is whether we just tuck in some regulation or whether we completely revise the thinking on the telecommunications sector." As it stands, he argued, "we are proposing drastic change in an industry

should change its regulatory regime." Currently, all Canadian telecommunications companies must comply with rules set out under the federal Telecommunications Act of 1996. While the Conservative government has re-

Canada move to a system of deregulation and free-market competition similar to the U.S. system, as soon as possible," Keay told *Maclean's*. "Regulators should be em-

pushing the erosion and encouragement of market forces instead of continuing to act as a proxy for market forces." And they must, he added, "move faster rather than slower" in that direction to ensure that Canada remains competitive in global markets.

For their part, Bell's corporate rivals, as well as Canada's biggest business customers, say that they are pleased by the utility's prudent stance. Indeed, they point out that Bell not only opposed the introduction of all long-distance competition, it even challenged key parts of the entire telecommunications bill.

ly—an independent court in October. The company balked at the CRTC's order that it pay 70 per cent of the cost of hooking up its new competitors to its long-distance lines. It also objected to the so-called discounted "connection charges" awarded to its rivals, which limited the subsidy they pay from their long-distance revenues to support local services.

At the same time, Unilever claims that complete immediate deregulation would amount to renationalising the long-dis-

posed "community calling scheme" would affect about 60 per cent of Bell's customers. It would also ensure that they remain within the grip of the still-monopolized local telephone market, and limit the number of long-distance calls made in the nearby competitive market.

is used in this case that without restraint, the law they will entirely overwhelm any competitor." And in 1985, Hastings, an independent member with the Progressive Conservatives of Canada Ltd., said: "If the government wants to encourage and stimulate customer service and innovation, it has to allow competitors to get a foothold by protecting them at first." Hastings is certainly not alone in expressing concern about Bell's assurance that it needs more closer and faster rivals to spur the deregulated telecommunications industry. In 1986, the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee reported that the Carter White House had already gradually towards deregulation in 1984, when the administration of President Jimmy Carter ended STC's monopoly. At

34,369, or 6 percent were proposed in a net new rate filing. Direct competition is, most critically, AT&T had to divert all local telephone assets. That's ironic because against AT&T occurred specifically because it was using the local telephone network to obstruct or undermine competitive efforts to establish themselves. So far, Bell has not been asked to release its local telephone monopoly but, according to Stansbury, if it does not co-operate with competitors, it will allow them direct access to its national long-distance lines without a surcharge, now known as "Ten-
X."

AT&T is prepared to face the reality of competition in the local market and has defended the proposed rate increases. We noted that Bell has not been allowed to increase local telephone rates for 10 years and that without the subsidy from long distance, it cannot sustain a "reasonable and responsible rate of return" as an investment. Keeney added that for every 30 cents Bell earns from long-distance services, about 17 cents it spent subsidizing local service. That compares with about three cents of cross-subsidy by the major long-distance companies.

The ferocity and unpredictability of the field

introducing over 100 countries' competition and its regulation is heightened by the enormous long-term growth potential of the telecommunications business. According to forecasts by Unitel, the domestic long-distance market will grow to about \$20 billion a year by 2007. And in an increasingly global economy, the need for use of current communications technology has emerged as a key competitive factor, said Joseph Schmid, president of the Canadian Business Telecommunications Alliance, a lobby group of 340 large businesses. "Telecommunications has become the nerve centre of the modern economy and information systems," he said.

Another part of Bell's strategy is to minimize the impact of last month's rate increases, according to its critics. It is, in effect, to take the hit for last month's increases of up to 65 per cent for local telephone calls—about 10 per cent on average across Canada. Cofcoenergy also extended to Bell's concession proposal to expand local calling areas. It proposed to add 100,000 new local calling areas, in addition to the 100,000 local calling areas that already exist.



Paul Keown: the industry needs a clear vision

The flying game

PWA fights on all fronts to stay aloft

The story of Blues Blyton's life resembles the plot of an elaborate corporate soap opera. The chairman of Canada's second largest airline company, PWA Co. of Calgary, Blyton is engaged in a dramatic life-or-death struggle to save his firm and the jobs of about 16,000 workers across Canada. To accomplish that, he must talk Blyton will have to overcome daunting obstacles, including a bitter strike with a larger competitor and former master, Air Canada of Montreal. That star-crossed corporate romance, with executives of the two airlines approaching—and abandoning—the altar twice, is also rife with regional political friction between Albertans and Quebecers. Now, while cash-strapped PWA attempts to restructure over \$3 billion in debt and to win the approval of 138 international creditors, a whale is waiting in the wings to snap up \$360 million and imposed actions on U.S. markets. But before PWA-owned Canadian Airlines can fall into the arms of American Airlines of Fort Worth, Texas, a stark economic and a host of adversaries, as well as difficulties that include complacent labour and regulatory thuggery. Then, Blyton will have to get a federal government's approval. As Blyton told Maclean's, "My next life, I really hope changes a chapter."

Despite his determination to keep PWA from becoming another corporate casualty of the recession, Blyton acknowledges that he proposed three-year survival plan is fragile. At least, in Calgary on March 23, the National Transportation Agency will review the terms of the proposed accord with American, which includes a 25-per-cent equity interest in PWA. By the end of April, the federal Competition Tribunal will rule on a federal dispute between PWA and its reservation services partner, Gemini Group Ltd. of Toronto. To assess the terms of a deal, PWA must extricate itself from a contract with Gemini so that it can switch to American's reservation system. Gemini claims that that action would plunge it into bankruptcy and force the layoff of 700 employees. In addition to the government appeal, the two sides are also locked in a legal dispute in Ontario. At the same time, negotiations are under way to expand the definition of credit. "We're doing all we can—within reason, that is—that we can," says Peter Kirk, an investment analyst with Raymond James, the far from alone in his struggle to survive in the airline business. In 1990, the

global industry lost \$3 billion and it is still struggling with massive overcapacity. In Canada, where capacity exceeds demand by about 30 per cent, the problems of the recession have been magnified by deregulation, which was fully implemented in 1986. In the United States, deregulation in 1978 created an upsurge in which dozens of carriers disappeared along with roughly 50,000 jobs. Today, according to Lasker, the debt of every major U.S. airline has now been downgraded to speculative or se-



Blyton uncertainty has been an 'emotional roller-coaster' for employees

cated junk level. In Canada, 201 air-carriers were grappling with deregulated conditions, as well as the privatization of Air Canada, the recession hit.

The predictable market rivalry between Canada's two competing airlines has taken a decidedly acrimonious turn since the two attempts to merge have failed. Blyton and Markson's plan for Air Canada's lawyers are pressuring the expensive court battle with Gemini that Air Canada also uses for reservation services, by reengineering recognition of a cash settlement. He added that Air Canada deliberately lengthened the last round of merger talks because executives knew that PWA was quickly running out of cash—and options. As well, the two firms are engaged in a legally-agreed-upon bid for Air Canada's refusal to ease pressure on both competitors by co-operating in the reduction of capacity. Says Blyton: "I can't figure Air Canada out. They've led us down that blind twice and that will never

happen again. We all deserve better than that."

On one potentially controversial front, however, PWA has won a respite. According to Blyton, Canadian U.S. talks on a limited Open Skies agreement have accepted. The agreement was intended to provide a framework for open skies between Canada and U.S. airline markets. This, however, contradicts bill even before the U.S. election last year and President Bill Clinton has not yet appointed new negotiators. With Canadian elections expected later this year, Blyton says that the talks are unlikely to resume in the near future. But he noted that Clinton's recent consideration of new fuel taxes in the United States could help PWA. Canadian airlines have usually had higher operating costs than their U.S. counterparts because fuel taxes in Canada run at about 40 per cent higher, on average, than those in the U.S.

DIETERE MCNEILTY

BUSINESS WATCH



Redefining the Tory hopes and ideology

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Patrick Boyer, the MP for Toronto's Etobicoke/Lakeshore riding, who announced last week that he would formally decline his candidacy for the Tory leadership on March 15, has about as much chance of winning the race as Rex Johnson.

Yet, his candidacy provides the ideal opportunity for what conservatism in Canada is really all about, and in which direction it should evolve. A lawyer and politician who has been out just the Tory party's, but one of Parliament's, most thoughtful backbenchers since he was first elected in 1984, Boyer believes that "We're in a form of decadence." His shrewd conclusion: "We are dismantling an idealistic pillar and all the structures and class that had built our country and parts of it, as that reconstruction can occur while these existing parts according to a new blueprint. Our new framework requires new patterns of thinking and, among other changes, a fresh appraisal of the possibilities of democratic politics."

He accurately states the sea change from the reformers' defeat of Oct. 16, meaning how that disastrous "style check" demonstrated that the people and government of Canada are no longer in phase with one another. "In that short popular vote on proposals to fundamentally change our Constitution," he maintains, "the old approach was denied and the political reacquaintance of Canada began. Canadians are changing their values, laws and practices as we transition from the model of a 19th-century state-subsidized form of a 21st-century international entity."

In a 24-page pamphlet titled "Democratic Conservatism: The New Stage in the Evolution of Canadian Politics," Boyer traces the evolution of his party from the "Confederative Conservatism" of Sir John A. Macdonald to his wish for what he calls the "Democratic Conservatism" of a post-Macneilty genre. He argues that at its core

Progressive Conservative Party—which has changed leaders 19 times and party names five times since Confederation, while the Liberals have only had one leader and never changed their label—was established in the first place. The party first emerged as an unlikely union of the logically legal British Crosswording Dragoons of Ontario and the otherwise legal Celibates of Quebec—a marriage between those who were more loyal to the Queen and more Catholic by the Pope. It was Sir John A. Macdonald's genius to unite these disparate factions behind his modestly nationalist followers to establish the woefully named Liberal-Confederative Party, which brought about Confederation in 1867. (The Liberals evolved out of a totally different coalition: the Rouges—anti-clerical Quebecers who were violently opposed to Canada's British orientation—and the Clear Grits of Ontario, who, if they were not anti-crown, certainly were opposed to the Family Compact that had ruled Upper Canada.)

These early positions were moderated in Liberal and Conservative administrations moved in and out of power, but right up the 1930s Liberals had to drag that they were anti-slavery in Quebec and that they were anti-British in Ontario. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's support for an independent Canadian navy and Mackenzie King's support of all things French were signs of that attitude. As was Macneilty's famous 1960 campaign slogan, "A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die." Sir Robert Borden's strong pro-conscription stand during the First World War and Arthur Meighen's continual cry "Heads, we stand" when England appealed to the dominions for soldiers during the Second Boer War.

Now that Canada's federal treasury is bankrupt, it is no longer possible to differentiate the two old parties on the basis of their spending habits. But historically, Canada's most successful prime ministers—especially Macdonald, Laurier and King—used the power of the state to intervene massively in the nation's economic affairs. Other, less interventionist prime ministers limited state intervention in a kind of negative or at least muted support function of the business community. Until 1942, when the Macdonald former John Bracken became Tory leader and supported Liberal-sponsored welfare measures, the Conservatives really were the party of the business, mostly influenced by the secondary manufacturing industries of central Ontario. In contrast, the Liberals tended to side with primary producers, especially farmers, dependent on export markets in their rural crooks. The Liberals also tended to insist, until the Tories took that view, that Canada's primary concern was with export markets, rather than with products with special and unique domestic flashing interests.)

What the Tory convention in June must accomplish, apart from picking a new prime minister, is to retool Canadian conservatism. As survival in the 21st century will demand not just a new leader but a new kind of politics.

A food fight

Dr. and fitness guru Richard Simmons says that he knows what it's like to be a competitive overeater. In the eighth grade, he says, he weighed 205 lbs., a 28-inch waistline and, on Saturdays, would read the newspaper in his archive New Orleans for the location of social gatherings. "I'd get all dressed up in a suit and tie, take a bus and



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY D. STONE

Simmons: 'You'll punish yourself.'

go to the receptions just to eat the food," Simmons recalled. "My ultimate favorite would be to go from bar mitzvah reception to wedding reception to anniversary reception." But since 1973, the self-proclaimed "queen of health," who now weighs 150 lbs. and has a been selling line of exercise videotapes since the 1980s, has been trying to help others change their habits. His latest effort is *Never Give Up*, a book that chronicles the weight-loss journeys of 40 individuals. "I've never had people tell me was going to be successful, except for the people I've been talking to," he says. "I just said, 'You like yourself, don't punish yourself—and move your butt.'

Bad guy to rock star

The popular CBS series *ER* has Leaming wimp to its 14th- and final-season in May, but Joseph Gatt, who plays heartthrob Tom Hagen, clearly has few regrets about it coming to an end. The reasons: the 32-

Back to Homefront

After the unscripted and acclaimed post-Second World War drama *Almondey* in December, Shelly Kennedy took a break from her own home, Kennedy, who plays Rich Stahl in *ER*, is determined to bring her family together again. She's already reuniting with her son, 18, and daughter, 16, from a previous relationship, and is moving in with her son, 21, and his wife, 20, in New York City. "It's a house that chronicles the weight-loss journeys of 40 individuals. "I've never had people tell me was going to be successful, except for the people I've been talking to," he says. "I just said, 'You like yourself, don't punish yourself—and move your butt.'



Kennedy: 'You like yourself.'



year-old Los Angeles-based actor says that he is determined to succeed in his other career—as a rock 'n' roll singer. "I want people to like this seriously," added Gatt, who plans to release his first album in the fall. "If *ER* taught

people interested, I'll take it from there." As well, Gatt said, he learned a valuable lesson from playing a diva on the show. "I learned to search about women," he explained. "Sure, women like to be treated like princesses—but men in a while they like to be with the bad guy."

Gatt: 'You like yourself.'



Learning to contend—and to help

As a TV talk-show host, part of Jenny Jones's job is discussing other people's problems. But a year ago, Jones herself became the subject of needle scrutiny when she told *People* magazine about her 11-year ordeal with breast implants. The *Seattle, Get-Well* former comedian, whose Chicago-produced *Jenny Jones Show* is in its second season, told MacLean's that after the article appeared, she was flooded with letters from women with similar problems—implant ruptures, pain, hardness, in their breasts. "Suddenly, I was the expert," she said. "And I just didn't know how to help them." Now, Jones, 46, has created the nonprofit *Image Foundation*, which provides support for women with implants and helps people improve their self-images. And she clearly makes the public anxious about her breasts in profile. Said Jones: "At one point, there was some interest in me appearing for a *DeLo's Panties* show, and I said, 'Gee, we could call it *The Four Most Horrific Breasts in America*.'"

PROFILE

'Nerds in love'

Politics makes strange relationships

In public, she calls him Mr. Wilson. In private, she writes that he is "a pain of my soul," and that she is "obsessed with him." To her, he has had, steals your heart and leaves you. "I'm a Dodger," Wilson, a 44-year-old former teacher who is fighting to save his job as B.C. Liberal leader even as he goes through an admittedly "messy" divorce from his wife, Elizabeth. She is Jeff Tydell, a 34-year-old separated mother of three, formerly Wilson's hard-picked house-leader—and now the woman he plans to marry. Together they are #1, the center of one of the most intense political soap operas in Canadian memory. Their love, they say, sprung from an attraction between two politically compatible minds. And although they fell for each other last fall, they claim that they have yet to consummate their relationship. "We're virgins," Tydell acknowledges. "We are just two people in love."

That love has cost her a high political price. Publicly over the extramarital affair, Wilson to range as Opposition leader last month and call a leadership race in which he may—or may not—be a candidate. Last week, the couple announced that Wilson had been home four weeks, which added fuel to the Wilsons'—and to Tydell's—rumors of a romantic and political partnership. They call those rumors a "cuckooed revolution," and say that they are not to prove that Canadians are interested in what politicians have to say about issues, not in their sometimes-turbulent private lives. "The real question," declared a defiant Wilson, "is whether Canada is ready for love in politics."

With Wilson and Tydell, the political and the personal are unusually intertwined. While in Toronto, a new storm broke over the publication of a love letter that Tydell sent to Wilson on Oct. 11, 1993, just two days before Wilson's controversial decision to appoint Tydell to the coveted post of house leader. When asked about the letter—which he said he did not write and Wilson—Wilson adamantly denied knowing anything about it, hours later he produced the original from his pocket pocket. His insistence cast a shadow over the couple's repeated claim that, "After the letter, we were not romantically linked."

But to the couple, the letter's release was just another sign of the political and personal

feuds ongoing against them. Wilson's leadership is under attack, they say, because he is associated with Social Credit, the Reform's political opposition party. Such a coalition, they contend, is being presented by mountaintop voters in Vancouver who have made it clear that Wilson is too much of a moderate to spearhead the required united opposition against Premier



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE

Wilson (left), Tydell: two politically compatible nerds

Michael Harcourt's NDP government. And they assert that stories about their love affair have been spread by their enemies to smear and discredit them. These enemies, they allege, include Wilson's estranged wife—she said that she may have photographed and leaked Tydell's letter to the *Star*, and Tydell, the political parties don't always allow for fair-weather friendships.

But even Wilson acknowledges that he and his companion have handled their affair poorly. "This letter proves that we did not have a sexual relationship," he said while relaxing in a Toronto bar after a day in which they headed off questions about the love letter. "But I admit that there may be a perception that we had." Wilson told MacLean's that he should never have revealed his feelings for Tydell to his relatives Liberal colleagues, who simply used the information as their campaign against him. "Gordon will be the first to admit that he has some things and some ideas about leadership," and Toronto lawyer Howard Levitt, a federal Liberal who signed the couple through their agency, said, "I think Wilson is a good guy." The spokesman of social Wilson's R.C. Liberal colleagues, who have made it clear that Wilson is too much of a moderate to spearhead the required united opposition against Premier

But Wilson and Tydell say that B.C. voters, not the Liberal camp, will decide their future. And they add that separate calls to radio call-in shows have encouraged them to fight on. As a result, the couple decided this month to let their love out of the closet: they announced plans to marry as soon as their divorces are final. "It has been frustrating not to be able to be together in public," Tydell said.

On a recent Saturday night, they used that freedom for the first time to go dancing at a downtown Vancouver nightclub. "I was afraid that we would go and people would ask, 'Is that your daughter?'" Wilson recalls. "And she was like, 'It's a secret, you like me, you won't be able to guess.'"

But when the disco jockey announced a tango contest, Wilson declined happily. "This is a dance I can do," he said. The couple won the contest. But even in that setting, they could not escape their celebrity. When Wilson went to claim the prize, a horde of paparazzi, the disc jockey looked at me and said, "Holy Jesus, you're Gord Wilson."

Tydell appears suggests about the extraordinarily public nature of their relationship, although she remains vague over any implications it has caused her extragedic husband. She also says that she no longer carries days by listening to radio news. The media, she argues, are not with the public. "The way we are waiting for the press to realize that people want slushy endings to love stories," and Tydell, the political parties don't always allow for fair-weather friendships,

BRUCE WALLACE

On top of the world

Canadian skaters claim gold in Prague

When they finally came to rest following their long practice of the World Championships last week, Canadian skaters Kurt Browning and Stéphane Bédard marveled over an exhausted audience. It had been a stir-rings-and nerve-wracking—performance that had the fans at the 13,000-seat Spartacus Hall in Prague, Czech Republic, on the edge of their seats for every lift, throw and take-by side jump. It was also an intimate program, agreeable after an unusually difficult one. Prague was their chance to mitigate the disappointment of third-place finishes at the 1992 Winter Olympics and World Championships—and to help ease Bédard's grief over the death of her father last November. Certainly, he was close to their hearts when they concluded what, ultimately, was a gold-medal performance. As the music gave way to thunderous applause, Bédard hung his head for a second, then took Brousseau's hand, kissed it and said, "That's for your Dad."

By capturing the championship's first gold medal, Brousseau and Bédard launched what seemed like Canada Week in Prague. Kurt Browning and Ilona Stéphane fulfilled everyone's expectations, winning the men's gold and silver medals, respectively. In addition, Canada placed second in the team competition, the top 10 in pairs (Michelle Mazzoni and Camille Ruest, and Jean-Michel Bertrand and Isabelle Léon), less than a year into their partnership, finished seventh, and newcomers Isolde Wagner of Stratford, Ont., and Sean Rice of Orillia, Ont., placed 10th. But it was Kurt and Ilona who stole the show with dramatic, spectacular free-skating routines that left both clearly ahead of a 24-man field that included Marcus Christensen of Edessa, Germany, who placed 20th, in his first World. In the women's event, Karen Preston, 21, of Mississauga, Ont., and Josée Chouinard, 20, of Laval, Que., finished eighth and ninth, respectively. For Chouinard, ninth was a disappointment; she was 18th last year, and had placed fourth in the short program.

With the 1990 Winter Games less than a year away, the Canadians had much to do to honor their reputations. And skating officials privately acknowledged that international skating is often biased towards reputation. That seemed evident last Friday night when newcomer Oksana Baiul, a spunky 19-year-old Ukrainian, won the audience's vote in the women's free-skating program, but was placed behind Nancy Kerrigan of the United States. Rival came back the next night, however, and



Stéphane (left) and Browning in Prague. *Judging expectations the hard way*

won gold with the field's best artistic score for her free skate. Kerrigan also turned up again in what Preston finished eighth after placing seventh in both the technical and free skating. "Nancy Kerrigan did two triples and a half and one of 'em? You've got to question that," said Preston, who landed six triples. "It's frustrating, but what can you do?"

By overcoming a blistering 1992, Brousseau and Bédard led the way for the rest of the Canadian team. Bédard, 25, from

Steinkirch, Ont., had been paired with Brousseau, 23, from Sudbury since Bédard's 1987, since 1987. After winning silver at the 1990 Worlds, they began to feel the weight of high expectations, and succumbed to anxiety times. That convinced them to redesign their program with an emphasis on the artistry. It paid off. "The gold medal is a reward for a performance that meant everything to us," said Bédard. "We didn't skater a perfect program, but the performance we were looking for was there."

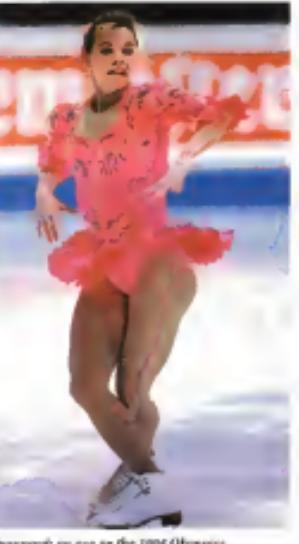
The first night of competition, the 20-year-old was nervous afterwards as his marks were announced, he stared at the scoreboard, the rugged features of his face strangely slack. Then he got worse later that evening when Stéphane fell off while eating dinner at a Prague restaurant. His girlfriend, Kim Carter of Barrie, Ont., had to help him walk back to his hotel where he was confined to bed and treated by a room doctor. "I don't know what it was," Stéphane said the next day. "Maybe the stress—it gets pretty stressful out there."

But Stéphane soon sobered from Dan Jackson, the first Canadian to win a world music title, in Prague in 1962. Jackson, who attended last year's championships as a guest of the organization, reminded Stéphane that he too had faced little after his short program and only relaxed with a swishing free skate. So Stéphane set his sights on silver. "I feel a little angry with myself and I said, 'Grazie, Grazie, this is not the place to be doing this. You've got to go out there and motivate yourself and you've got to do it now.'

He did, by performing the event's most difficult routine with remarkable ease. Stéphane landed every one of his eight triples, including a difficult triple Axel triple toe loop combination. "Each element was really clear-cut," said his coach, Doug Leigh. "It was really first class all the way." On technical merit alone, Stéphane had won the day. But techniques in only one part of how the sport is judged, and the judges give less credit for the artistic interpretation.

Not so with Browning. The 26-year-old Canadian, who native took what he had learned from winning three previous world titles and produced four and a half minutes of theatre out of it. A small technical error in the men's free program, however, cost him points. "It was his best," he can be Fred Astaire in a field of Fred MacMurrys. Stating to the theme of the movie classic *Gaslight*, Browning became Béatrice, shelling through the mysterious back stories of women's Mazzoni. In a polished-mangled Prague, that was a considerable stretch—especially likely for those willing to accept a Bogie who did triple Axels and combination jumps. But the audience was swept along by the raps, and when the music died, many fans had called for him to play it again.

Like Brousseau and Bédard, Browning had something to prove in Prague. A lower back injury curtailed his training before the 1990 Winter Olympics, and the pain nagged him throughout the Games. The defending World champion finished sixth



Chouinard: an eye on the 1994 Olympics

But he decided to hang in for next February's Winter Games in Lillehammer, Norway. There was no guarantee that he would be able to avenge his 1990 disappointment. In fact, he hurt his hip three weeks before the Worlds and had to withdraw to practice some jumps. "I landed around all week and just what everybody was doing and I had to (hadn't) been able to train to that technical level of skating," he said as elated Browning after

the medal ceremony. "So it was important to make sure that this program was the best-skated program out there tonight."

Many of the Canadian skaters finished well back of the medalists, but still considered Prague a success. Stan-Louis Brousseau, 17, of Chatham, Ont., and Victor Kratka, 21, of Quebec City, both, said that they were pleased with their 18th-place finish as in dancing. "The pair have been skating together for only a year, and the Worlds were their first major international competition," said Preston, despite her placeness, was happy with her performance. "Last year at the Olympics, I only tried one triple and then I fear I missed the triple and did it by partner and triple back to back at the 3.0 triple and Preston. 'So, I'm very pleased.' It shows I've improved."

With the medals still slung around their necks, the skaters were already setting their sights on the 1994 Winter Olympics. Traditionally, they would gauge the competition on the World Championships—but the 1994 Winter Games will allow some professionals to compete. Nonetheless, skating experts view the return of professionals with suspicion, and suggest that few have stayed fit enough to compete at the Olympic level. And according to former Canadian ice skater Tracy Wilson, currently a CBS skating analyst, the performances at Prague could distract many skaters as well. Wilson cited Ukrainian skater Oksana Baiul, the 1992 World and Olympic champion, who took to the ice in Lillehammer, Norway. There was no guarantee that he would be able to avenge his 1990 disappointment. In fact, he hurt his hip three weeks before the Worlds and had to withdraw to practice some jumps. "I landed around all week and just what everybody was doing and I had to (hadn't) been able to train to that technical level of skating," he said as elated Browning after



Stéphane (left), Browning, Brousseau and Bédard: Canada Week

JAMES DEDDICK with
DON WILCOX in Prague

'I am getting weaker'

A woman wanting legal suicide has another chance

LAST week, Sue Rodriguez lost one more option in a battle that has consumed much of what little time remains in her life. Since her diagnosis in August, 1991, with asymptomatic lateral sclerosis (ALS), Rodriguez has been fighting for her right to choose the time of her own death, by suicide. ALS—commonly known as Lou Gehrig's disease, after the baseball player who died of it in 1941—is a fatal disease of the nervous system that currently affects about 3,200 Canadians. It causes body functions to shut down progressively, usually resulting in death about 25 years from the time of diagnosis. Rodriguez, whose life expectancy is now estimated to be between two and 15 months, has become so weak that she is physically unable to move her body without help from a doctor. Still, she says, *to die* is her death. Rodriguez maintains, she will push the time of her death. *But her hope is that the courts will accept her wishes and legal doctor-assisted suicide will end a suffering last week when the B.C. Court of Appeal ruled 2 to 1 against her application. Still, she took heart in the decision, by Chief Justice Albie McLeish, who wrote that the section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms that ensures human dignity and individual choice should protect her from "excessive physical and psychological suffering."*

Rodriguez, 42, who three years ago left with her husband and eight-year-old son, is now returning to her first court of appeal, the Supreme Court of Canada, for permission to choose when to end her life. As the much-anticipated day in court, Rodriguez awoke in a hotel that is fulfilling her and a son who is expressing anger as he comes to understand that his mother is already dead. At the same time, she says, a doctor has offered to help her take her life. In an interview with *Atlantic Edition*, *Newsweek* had with Rodriguez just now, as her options decrease, her love of life provided one more lifeline:



Rodriguez 'at the time of my death I hope it's painless.'

my request, but I do feel that there is hope because of Chief Justice McLeish's decision to overturn and hearing to go on a third time again to court, but that I will be there personally that time. We wait and we sometimes the sense of waiting for the decision— I don't feel that it's physically getting me down. I think it's the sense that...

MacLeish: *Did you have any idea that the right for your wife, or anyone else, to die is not absolute? Do you have any regret about that?*

Rodriguez: I had no idea. I knew that it would be controversial but I had no idea that so many people would be debating about it. It's an issue that people have not looked at seriously enough in the past and judging by the letters I receive it's long overdue. This can

have been so many people who have suffered needlessly because of this issue never being addressed before.

MacLeish: *At the beginning, did you feel that at any time you could just quietly go off and end your life? Is that possible now?*

Rodriguez: I still live in privacy in my house. I think that I don't feel that will be appropriate at all. If I go out, people recognize me but I think I do still have a sense of privacy in my life. I realize that after I'm gone it won't be sensitive, but certainly at the time of my death I hope it's private.

MacLeish: *Does that right go beyond your own rights? Do you have the sense that you are helping to force the weaker when who are in comparable situations?*

Rodriguez: I believe so. If the court should rule on my side, this is a precedent-setting case. It should help people. There are many out there waiting to find out what the decision will be for me because they themselves are in a very sad predicament now. I get many letters and calls from people and have become aware of the fact that I do not alone.

MacLeish: *How are you feeling? When we spoke on November, you said that you were still *really* enjoying life. Do you feel the same way now?*

Rodriguez: I am getting weaker. I find that there is less that I can do. I do not feel as mobile as I was a month ago and I am unable to walk. I still am enjoying parts of my life but I am beginning to feel more disabled. I feel like my body is breaking down so it's not as enjoyable as it was before, but I'm not depressed or anything like that. I'm just not enjoying it as much as I used to. I feel like spring is coming, and that always perks me up.

MacLeish: *How is your new dealing with all of that? Is he confused or does he understand that you won't be with him forever?*

Rodriguez: He is in most of the time but he is displaying more anger, and my sense is that it's from trying to have someone else in the home all the time. The weaker I get, the more home-care worker I need, plus there are always lots of health-care professionals around during the day. I think he gets frustrated that life is not the same as before. He has a counselor at school and has been through the counselor program here. I think he's been through that, but he's aware that it's OK to talk about it.

MacLeish: *Has your reader ever failed?*

Rodriguez: Never. Not for a moment. It's too important to me and I just have a sense that what I'm doing is right and it has been rewarding to me.

MEDIA WATCH



Patronage and a journalistic sin

BY GEORGE BAIN

This column is about *wilful ignorance*, defined as the journalistic sin of pretense and ignorance, and resulting from a lack of knowledge or research, causing keeping the news rights and in mind that *should* start the story. Of all the institutions of government that attract wilful ignorance, the Senate of Canada comes high on the list. It does so by a roundabout, round Appointments to the Senate are made by the government prime minister, which is how the Constitution says they are to be made. But all personnel appointments represent patronage and all patronage by social definition is indiscriminately wicked, so why, when so wrong with a little obscenities in a good cause?

After the Prime Minister, in September, 1999, unveiled a "little known" section of the Constitution to appoint eight extra senators—"little known" is journalist nomenclature the writer using the term had not heard of it before—a panel on the usually conservative *can Peter Gzowski's *Montreal** on CBC Radio discussed the proposition that Section 39 might have strengthened from lack of use.

In all the years since 1987 when a was written into the British North America Act, on the strong advice of the government in London, no prime minister had ever called upon it, although there had been considerable debate. However, the section of a Constitution that gives an upper house an "upper house" by definition to them like a peerage, was being presented by a less liberal senator in Ottawa. That was warrant enough for several wise people to sleep in wild, ignorance to discuss the proposition seriously on radio. (The question of Section 39's validity was disposed of when two court decisions based its life signs—retired justice.)

In effect, what they were saying was that a majority of senators are appointed by the government of the day. That is not an argument in itself. The argument is that the government, which however, has been appointed, must itself a title of use off. So now, the Prime Minister makes, yes, three more appointments after last week's two, and simultaneously announces the new Senate appointments bill. It leaves on a high note. The new leader comes in with nothing hanging over his/ her head, as Turner did. Wilful ignorance is devoid of an outlet. All is secure.

Look, David, don't you have a second thought? I gave up bickering for the Senate years ago.

Conversations did in the fall of 1984, that there was a hostile Senate down the hill. There were then 75 Liberals to 85 Conservatives, former and a few Independents and senators. Eight and a half years later, independent and vacancies again out, the spread is much less: 49 Conservatives to 41 Liberals.

However, the vacancies in the 1984-96 chapter are now a significant ratio, and speculation has begun about Brian Mulroney's in tenure. A plus has developed to the effect that appointing nine Tories would be a repetition of what Pierre Trudeau did, which Mulroney used to advantage in the 1984 election. The comparison is not exact in that Trudeau created not only a slather of senators but also judges, ambassadors and whatnot, and even reached beyond his term by having them on his successor, John Turner's, list, with a little self-guarantee, that can be slipped over and the comparison comes and, count as will—be made. Consequently, as we are not now about to have an elected Senate, this would be an excellent time for Brian Mulroney, in a gift to the nation, to make a change in the way senators are born.

It would be a waste of the apparatus where it is, but put on committee. In that, that would continue the practice of senators automatically getting eight seats each as their sinecure as those of course—only on the part that the representation of his or her state in the Senate becomes equal in proportion to its representation in the House of Commons. Thereafter, all nominations for the Senate would go via an all-party review committee, which would test publicly the nominees' qualifications. (There is no necessity of that throughout, the Senate is a political body, never more so than in recent years, and the quality of appointees up to the point of proportionate equality with the government's strength in the Commons can be left as solely the government's responsibility. A rightful media—what else?—would tell the public if they all turned out to be deadbeats, layabouts and dopes.)

The American editorial comment query as further nominees would have the double effect of meaning that the Senate was not loaded down with persons whose only claim to being there was a past loyalty to the party, and of providing a check against a long-governing party's stacking the deck for years to come. With the same objective in mind, the suggested legislation would forbid a prime minister in the first year of the government's mandate to make any Senate appointments at all. That is not an end in itself, however, because of the many years of appointments, which however, have been appointed, must itself a title of use off. So now, the Prime Minister makes, yes, three more appointments after last week's two, and simultaneously announces the new Senate appointments bill. It leaves on a high note. The new leader comes in with nothing hanging over his/ her head, as Turner did. Wilful ignorance is devoid of an outlet. All is secure.

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Against the grain

Noam Chomsky condemns Washington's ways

He is a world-renowned scholar who has fiercely renounced the field of linguistics since the appearance of his first book, *Syntactic Structures*, in 1955. And for the past 30 years, Noam Chomsky has also been engaged in another, less esoteric, revolution—an attempt to shatter the image of the United States as a benevolent international paternalist of the world's poor. For almost 40 years, Chomsky, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, continues to decry America's foreign policy and what he views as the collusion between the U.S. government and the media. His newly published *Media Control: The Corporate Cube and the Media* (Rowman and Littlefield, \$19.95, 322 pages, \$10.95), offers a scathing critique of the new world order that former president George Bush heralded during his 2001 war against Iraq—and whose roots Chomsky traces to the European-led colonization of the world that began five centuries ago. But despite his prolific, provocative output, Chomsky the dissident is almost in low-profile as Chomsky the linguist. Renounced by many mainstream commentators for his nonconformist views, he is confined to the margins of public debate in his own country.



Chomsky: cult status in Canada

In Canada, however, Chomsky enjoys increasing recognition. His book will sell a respectable 5,000 copies, on average, with the demand growing. Meanwhile in 1990, Toronto playwrights Daniel Brooks and Guillermo Verdecio has created *The Noam Chomsky Lectures*, a critically acclaimed, award-winning stage work inspired by the American thinker. And since the fall, a new *Montreal-based* documentary, *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*, has played to sold-out houses across the country. The CBC is currently negotiating with the filmmakers about airing the documentary on *National TV* or, in an abridged version, on the main network. *Manufacturing Consent*, which has won major awards at festivals

Item: Changes in Sydney, Australia, and which has been bought by networks in 12 countries, recently opened in the United States.

Five years in the making, the discursive tack Peter Watson and Mark Achbar, partners in the Montreal film company Necessary Pictures, to 25 cities in 10 countries in their quest to chronicle the effects of the war on free and independent media. *Manufacturing Consent* (named after a 1988 book co-written by Chomsky and former professor Edward S. Herman) provides an insightful and accessible look at the life of a man who is both pedagogue and propagandist. The film deals primarily with Chomsky's analysis of the American media, specifically *The New York Times*. Employing neither a narrator nor face-to-face interviews with Chomsky, the film-makers allow the scholar's ideas to unfold in a series of public speeches, radio and TV interviews, as well as debate with conservative and liberal opponents. In all of these forums, Chomsky repeatedly, and often quite persuasively, drives home a central point: that in American society the role of the mass media, over-wholly controlled by large corporations, is to reinforce the party's dominant role of the rich and the powerful.

Since becoming fully active as a participant in the anti-war movement, probing U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Chomsky has long argued that what he calls "the sprawling media" (the press, television, radio, and the like) are Washington's tools of influence. According to Chomsky, at the same time that the United States moved to enlarge *Le Figaro* at the United Nations, it was providing 80 per cent of the sum Indonesia was using to destroy the insurgency around itself in East Timor. And the *Times*, he quite convincingly demonstrates, fully mirrored Washington's double standard. Between 1953 and 1959, the newspaper devoted 70 column-inches to the East Timor conflict. Coverage of the Cambodian conflict took up 1175 inches.

Clearly aware that his theories have the ring of the politically paranoid, Chomsky has

Chomsky's target has been one of the most reputable of media or gurus. *The New York Times*, a newspaper that he claims features—too strenuously—as surely as mud in favor of the American elite in particular, says Chomsky, the Times uniformly portrays the United States as a defender of freedom and democracy abroad—even when the evidence indicates the opposite. "The Times is a company that sells respectability," to that case, very privileged readers, in short. Chomsky told Macleod's "despite all the claims of objectivity, it is the product of a situation in which the owners, the shareholders, the newspaper itself and its readership all agree that the system works—and that it should be vigorously defended."

Manufacturing Consent invokes Chomsky's critique of the *Times* coverage of two conflicts that unfolded in Southeast Asia in the mid 1970s: the Indonesian massacre of thousands of civilians on the island of East Timor, just north of Australia, and the genocide perpetrated by Cambodian Maoist-supported Khmer Rouge. At the time, Chomsky points out in the film, Indonesia was a U.S.-ally and East Timor was home to extensive oil reserves, strategic U.S.-controlled atmospheric bases—and a burgeoning democratic movement supporting greater local control of the island's resources. The Khmer Rouge and its Cambodian leader, Pol Pot, by contrast were an Washington's last of official enemies.

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Clearly aware that his theories have the



Manufacturing Consent: confusion with the media

ring backed himself in with such facts and figures—that at times threaten to drown the documentary in a pool of mind-numbing statistics. To counter this, Watson and Achbar employ both a dark sense of humor and a dead hand at storytelling. In one scene, they pose as oil-well-washing seagulls to stoke editorials from the *Times* who, in one case, cast off indications of U.S. com-

plaining from a story about *Le Figaro* that they had originated from *The Times* of London. The two doctors then toss the offending paragraphs into a bin marked "Send it to print"—a reference to the American newspaper's motto, "All the news that's fit to print."

One person who has made a point of not seeing *Manufacturing Consent* is Chomsky himself. "I have to have my own tape and watch myself on screen," said the outspoken author, talking by phone from his home in Cambridge, Mass. "I should have been in it, but I would have been a bore of gunk," he admits, although he speaks considerably about editor decisions as solid. The media are largely to blame for apathy and ignorance, Chomsky infers, implying to those who uncritically consume what the media produce: "People," he says in the documentary, "are allowing themselves to be deluded and manipulated by the system."

Chomsky says that he is troubled by the right's growth in prominence over the past 20 years. "It is at the point where not only can I no longer identify myself as a socialist, but I can't even say they're liberal," he says. Macleod's "Even [President Bill] Clinton could call himself liberal if he wanted to get elected. When you reach a degree of ideological slumber when being a liberal is a curse word, you know that's really a huge achievement of power over the right."

Despite his often grim perspective on the state of the world, and his generally pessimistic pronouncements to *Manufacturing Consent*, Chomsky's conclusions are not entirely bleak. In the closing pages of *Media*, he points to the bicentennial edition of last year's celebrations to mark the 200th anniversary of Chomsky's *Comparative Linguistics*. "That kind of optimism," he says, indicates a sobering diagnosis about the legacy of European and American imperialism. "Had the quasimonarchs of the old world order failed in 1982, it would have here celebrated once again as the liberation of the hemisphere," he writes. "In 1982, that was impossible." Commenting on that outbreak, he told Macleod: "I don't spend a lot of time telling upbeat messages—I spend time on what's valid and what ought to be changed. That doesn't mean I don't have hope." Sighing, he paused, and added, "The power still goes on, but you can throw a lot of sand in its gears."

VICTOR DUTTER

The Maclean's Best Seller List now appears in *Opening Notes* (page 89).



The view from behind the shoulders

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Dear Mr. Fotheringham, it certainly is preposterous to perceive you journalistic about our journalists.

Explain precisely the specificity of the phantasmagorical conglomeration of deroga-
tive epithets I have previously coined.

Well, yes. I don't understand all this native
rancour about Avril Phaëdra Campbell.
Can you help?

Certainly. Anytime you have a bloke with
bare shoulders at March in the middle of a
recession, the political libido has to become.

You're not suggesting that sexual allure
has something to do with it?

Are you kidding? Have you looked at Jean
Charest lately? Truly, she's a Chateaubriand-
maker. (Dylan Campbell says, he always
looks like the driver of the getaway car.)

Are you suggesting the male of politi-
cal lions reduced to mere reflexive insinu-²

—Gesurrau. If Robert Staudt had been able to do back翻 on an trampoline in 1986 our entire political history would have been
different and possibly better.

Why, why doesn't Kim use her real name?

Would you like to go through life han-
dheld by Avril Phaëdra? Obviously, she
thought her parents had come down with a
serious case of the poops. At the age of
18, after either reading Rudyard Kipling
(1901—Kipling, not Cangai) or seeing a
Ken North movie, she decided to be a mother
that could not only be spelled but perhaps
remembered.

Anything else, smart ass?

She. She says that the existence of a single
female in politics in Canada can be "uncom-
fortably lonely." What's that? They're lonely? Or
pride? (Gesurrau. She's not without her.)

But there any way we can stop the journal-
ing bimbo? (Gesurrau.)

Certainly. If Davy MacIntosh, Jean
Charest, Barbara McDougall, Perrin Beatty,
Bernard Valcourt, Patrick Boyer and Bob's
Your Uncle all came next week and a com-
munity cause demanding that she go as the
convention will by her passport name of
Avril Phaëdra, there is a chance.

What would the Greeks do to Aug. Clinton
if they saw Avril Phaëdra hunched over?

They could try either a policy transplant or
an amorous attempt to teach him to speak
either English or French, at least one of the
two would be appreciated.

What about Brian Mulroney? (of all things!)
He is temporarily dismasted. His plan to
give the appearance of an honest man, thus
dominating the media agenda while he de-
sorrows from his throw-the-Ti-Paper
Casan in Rome, has come unstrung. Too
clever by half, as usual, his constant to See
the Speaker Guy Charbonneau to put his
biggest brains in Quebec to work for Avril
Phaëdra killed his pretense of a contest.
There is not a single brain in Quebec hid-
den under a rock that Senator Guy does not
know the location thereof.

So what's happening?

What's happening is that
Mulroney is fed up with a
conservative that will bore the
easily bored media, push on the party popular Mac,
resolutely unengaged from downtown Verdun, Al-
berta, to corner the Campbell room. And it's started
the same in-the-kid Charbonneau to right the wrongs made
to the young Charest.

It has been revealed that
Avril Phaëdra paid her way
through university by work-
ing as a ticketed parking
person in Prairier Airport and at
the Kegel place on the
mainpost road. Has this
had any effect on the men?

Certainly. Rumours that
such shocking information
was true forced Mike Mil-
ton to abandon the chase, the
only major mistake he has
ever seen in his life being
the club sandwiches in
the Bay Street boardroom.

What about Jean Charest
since about all this?

Since from the fact that he
should coach his hair (it's not the Stoiles,
it's) is racing for ever time, but is preventing
him from racing for this time. Does he know
that Canadian voters, who have a 34-year-old
setting not to them in the office, don't want
what a 34-year-old prime minister? Does he
know that Canadian voters, having prime
ministers in Quebec 24 of the last 35
years, would like to know more? (Yes,
he does.) He has probably been decent.

If it is true, as assumed, that
Phaëdra's manager has offered you \$50,000 if you can
provide the photographs of Avril Phaëdra
from behind at the pool for *The Photographic*.
There are no cameras. I have no cameras. I
have the cameras but other than that I do
not choose to explain.

Get to hell, you certainly have done extremely
inadvertently in modifying the function.
No problem.



You're not convincing. What would be the
last line of attack?

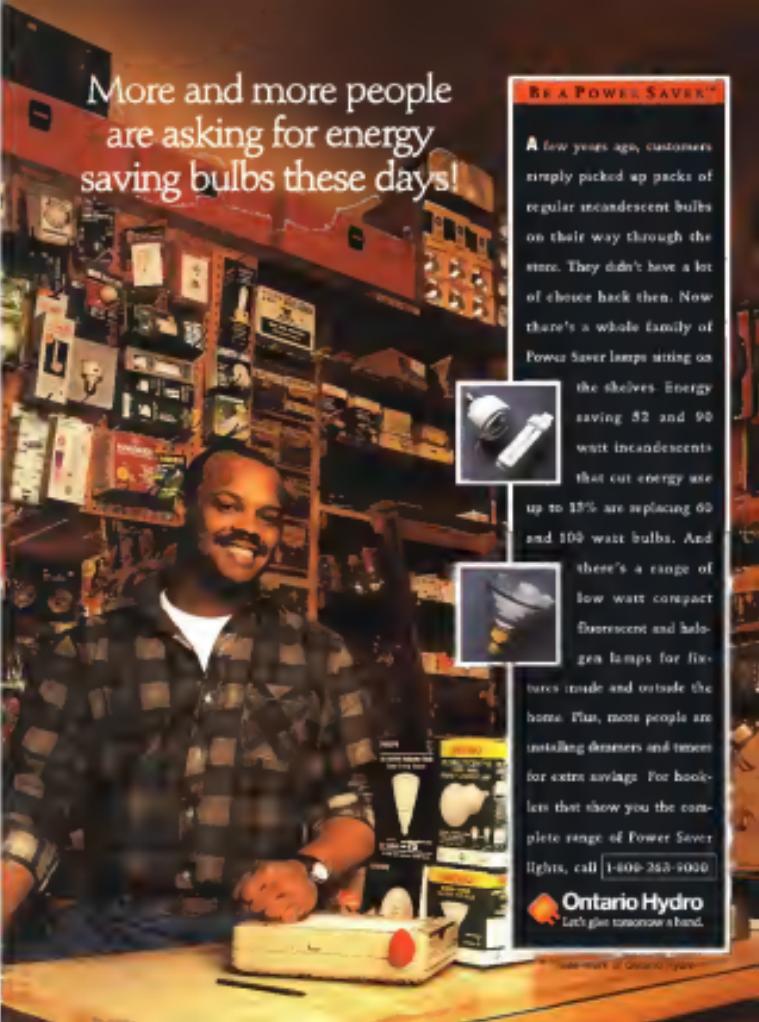
Well, there are always questions as to the
limits of public custody. John Kennedy use
creedle despite the worries of whether Amer-
ica for the first time would elect a Roman
Catholic as president. Ronald Reagan be-
cause, such was the passage of time, the first
president who was not a native, and at
most no one noticed. Pierre Trudeau was
elected despite (because?) of his native status.
And, of course, Bill Vander Zalm was elected
even though being a confirmed lack. Will

the 1993 Canadian public consider why the
base should have been divorced
twice? Who knows?

What's the latest? (Gesurrau?)

The Liberals are in a thousand look that de-
spair does not come close to describe. They
are reducing three choices of Chrestien over
Paul Martin in as giddy as it now appears;

More and more people are asking for energy saving bulbs these days!



BE A POWER SAVER!

A few years ago, customers
simply picked up packs of
regular incandescent bulbs
on their way through the
store. They didn't have a lot
of choice back then. Now
there's a whole family of
Power Saver lamps sitting on

the shelves. Energy
saving 82 and 90
watt incandescents
that cut energy use

up to 15% are replacing 60
and 100 watt bulbs. And

there's a range of
low watt compact
fluorescent and halo-
gen lamps for fix-
tures inside and outside the

home. Plus, more people are
installing timers and timers
for extra savings. For bro-
chures that show you the
complete range of Power Saver
lights, call 1-800-263-9000.

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Damage Protection Insurance is automatic with Royal Bank Visa Gold.

■ Lost it? Break it? Not to worry. Our automatic **Purchase Security and Extended Protection Insurance** will fix it or replace it.

1. Only emergency medical insurance coverage is available in most countries. For up to 14 consecutive days per trip, you'll need to use it.

■ You want more protection? Peace of mind? You've got it. Automatic coverage of up to \$200,000 in

Travel Accident Insurance

insurance when you travel by common carrier and purchase your tickets with Royal Bank Visa Gold.

■ That denied lender you got in Amsterdam confirms that compelling for a parking space is an adventure all over the world.

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Canada's No. 1 Gold Card is automatic with Royal Bank Visa Gold.

■ Lost it? Break it? Not to worry. Our automatic **Purchase Security and Extended Protection Insurance** will fix it or replace it.

1. Only emergency medical insurance coverage is available in most countries. For up to 14 consecutive days per trip, you'll need to use it.



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enough points for that special holiday? It could still be yours with our **Points Plus** option. Use a combination of points and cash and you're off.

■ Want something for your home instead of leaving home? Select a gift from our **Royal Collection**.

Everything from the practical to the sublime. Choose something for yourself or for someone who's important to you.



1. Only emergency medical insurance coverage is available in most countries. For up to 14 consecutive days per trip, you'll need to use it.

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INTRODUCING A GOOD LOOKING CAR FROM A COMPANY THAT DOESN'T RELY ON ITS GOOD LOOKS.



The fact that the new Saab 9000 CSE is an attractive car is merely coincidental. Sure, we gave it a prettier face and rounded out the rear end. But we assure you, our intention was just to make it a better car. Not a better looking car.

What most people will find attractive about our new Saab can only be appreciated by actually driving one.

Once inside, you'll be amazed at how comfortable you are in the leather upholstered seats. And not only will its CFC-free Automatic Climate Control keep your environment livable, it also minimizes the effect on the environment outside.

The engineers who developed

the CSE's powerful 200 horsepower turbocharged engine also developed a unique engine management system called Saab

THE NEW SAAB 9000 CSE

Trionic. The result is better performance, lower emissions and lower fuel consumption.

At Saab, we feel a performance car isn't worth driving if it's not safe. That's why the 9000 CSE comes with an anti-lock braking system and Saab's Traction Control System. Its tough steel cage, crumple zones, driver's-side airbag and new side-impact reinforcements mean it's one of the safest cars you can find yourself in.

All our Saabs are backed by a comprehensive new vehicle no-

deductible limited warranty of 3 years or 60,000 km and a major component limited warranty of 6 years or 120,000 km*. And Saab's 24-hour-a-day Roadside Assistance Program* means we'll be there to help should almost any emergency arise. Even if you've locked your keys in the car.

Now, after all that's been said about this car, you may be feeling a certain attraction to it. Of course, this was never our intention. If you feel the need to further explore the possibilities of a relationship, call 1-800-263-1999 for the location of your nearest Saturn Saab Isuzu dealer. But remember. We're just coming to terms with our beauty.

*See your Saab dealer for details. Certain limitations apply.

